Plutarch's Lives

Plutarch

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

VI

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VOLUME I.

THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.

VOLUME II.

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.

VOLUME III.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS.
NICIAS AND CRASSUS.

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ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS.
LYSANDER AND SULLA.

VOLUME V.

AGESILAÜS AND POMPEY.
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

VI

DION AND BRUTUS
TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS PAULUS

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MCMXVIII

PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) editions of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of the one to the other, and any departure from both, have been indicated in the brief critical notes. An abridged account of the manuscripts and editions of Plutarch's *Lives* may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the *Lives* presented in this volume is contained in either of the two oldest and best manuscripts. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must still be referred to the major edition of the *Lives* by Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–1846, 4 voll., 8vo). The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

PREFATORY NOTE

Some use has been made of the Siefert-Blass edition of the *Timoleon* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1879), and also of Holden's edition of the same *Life* (Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1889).

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the *Brutus* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

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DION

ΔΙΩΝ

I. Ἆρά γε, ὥσπερ ὁ Σιμωνίδης φησίν, ὦ Σόσσιε Σενεκίων, τοῖς Κορινθίοις οὐ μηνίειν τὸ Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεύσασι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι κἀκείνοις οἱ περὶ Γλαῦκον ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κορίνθιοι γεγονότες συνεμάχουν προθύμως, οὕτως εἰκὸς τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ μήτε Ῥωμαίους μήτε Ἕλληνας ἐγκαλεῖν ἴσον φερομένους ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, ἣ τόν τε Βρούτου περιέχει βίον καὶ τὸν Δίωνος, ὧν ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ Πλάτωνι πλησιάσας, ὁ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ἐντραφεὶς τοῖς Πλάτωνος, ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ὥρμησαν ἀμφότεροι παλαίστρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μεγίστους
2 ἀγῶνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅμοια πολλὰ καὶ ἀδελφὰ πράξαντας μαρτυρῆσαι τῷ καθηγεμόνι τῆς ἀρετῆς ὅτι δεῖ φρονήσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τύχην συνελθεῖν, ἵνα κάλλος ἅμα καὶ μέγεθος αἱ πολιτικαὶ πράξεις λάβωσιν, οὐ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν. ὡς γὰρ Ἱππόμαχος ο ἀλείπτης ἔλεγε τοὺς γεγυμνασμένους παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ κρέας ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἰδὼν φέροντας ἐπιγνῶναι πόρρωθεν, οὕτω τὸν λόγον ἐστὶν εἰκὸς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ὁμοίως ἕπεσθαι ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἐμμέλειάν τινα καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἐπιφέροντα μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος.

Paris Edition, a. 1624, p. 958

DION

I. If it be true, then, O Socius Senecio,[1] as Simonides says,[2] that Ilium "is not wroth with the Corinthians" for coming up against her with the Achaeans, because the Trojans also had Glaucus, who sprang from Corinth, as a zealous ally, so it is likely that neither Romans nor Greeks will quarrel with the Academy, since they fare alike in this treatise containing the lives of Dion and Brutus, for Dion was an immediate disciple of Plato, while Brutus was nourished on the doctrines of Plato. Both therefore set out from one training-school, as it were, to engage in the greatest struggles. And we need not wonder that, in the performance of actions that were often kindred and alike, they bore witness to the doctrine of their teacher in virtue, that wisdom and justice must be united with power and good fortune if public careers are to take on beauty as well as grandeur. For as Hippomachus the trainer used to delare that he could recognize his pupils from afar even though they were but carrying meat from the market-place, so it is natural that the principles of those who have been trained alike should permeate their actions, inducing in these a similar rhythm and harmony along with their propriety.

[1] One of the many friends whom Plutarch made during his residence at Rome. See on *Theseus*, i. 1.

[2] Fragment 50; Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.[4] p. 412.

B 2

II. Αἱ δὲ τύχαι, τοῖς συμπτώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς προαιρέσεσιν οὖσαι αἱ αὐταί, συνάγουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς βίους εἰς ὁμοιότητα. προανηρέθησαν γὰρ ἀμφότεροι τοῦ τέλους, εἰς ὃ προὔθεντο τὰς πράξεις ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων καταθέσθαι μὴ δυνηθέντες. ὃ δὲ πάντων θαυμασιώτατον, ὅτι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀμφοτέροις ὑπεδήλωσε τὴν τελευτήν, ὁμοίως ἑκατέρῳ φάσμα-
2 τος εἰς ὄψιν οὐκ εὐμενοῦς παραγενομένου. καίτοι λόγος τίς ἐστι τῶν ἀναιρούντων τὰ τοιαῦτα, μηδενὶ ἂν νοῦν ἔχοντι προσπεσεῖν φάντασμα δαίμονος μηδὲ εἴδωλον, ἀλλὰ παιδάρια καὶ γύναια καὶ παραφόρους δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀνθρώπους ἔν τινι πλάνῳ ψυχῆς ἢ δυσκρασίᾳ σώματος γενομένους δόξας ἐφέλκεσθαι κενὰς καὶ ἀλλοκότους, δαίμονα πονηρὸν ἐν αὑτοῖς τὴν δεισιδαι-
3 μονίαν[1] ἔχοντας. εἰ δὲ Δίων καὶ Βροῦτος, ἄνδρες ἐμβριθεῖς καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀκροσφαλεῖς οὐδ' εὐάλωτοι πάθος, οὕτως ὑπὸ φάσματος διετέθησαν ὥστε καὶ φράσαι πρὸς ἑτέρους, οὐκ οἶδα μὴ τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν τὸν ἀτοπώτατον ἀναγκασθῶμεν προσδέχεσθαι λόγον, ὡς τὰ φαῦλα δαιμόνια καὶ βάσκανα, προσφθονοῦντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐνιστάμενα, ταραχὰς καὶ φόβους ἐπάγει, σείοντα καὶ σφάλ-
4 λοντα τὴν ἀρετήν, ὡς μὴ διαμείναντες ἀπτῶτες ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀκέραιοι βελτίονος ἐκείνων μοίρας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τύχωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς ἄλλον ἀνακείσθω λόγον. ἐν τούτῳ δέ, δωδε-

[1] τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν Coraës and Bekker, instead of the εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν of the MSS.: δεισιδαιμονίαν.

II. Moreover, the fortunes of the two men, which were the same in what befell them rather than in what they elected to do, make their lives alike. For both were cut off untimely, without being able to achieve the objects to which they had determined to devote the fruits of their many and great struggles. But the most wonderful thing of all was that Heaven gave to both an intimation of their approaching death, by the visible appearance to each alike of an ill-boding spectre. And yet there are those who deny such things and say that no man in his right mind was ever visited by a spectre or an apparition from Heaven, but that little children and foolish women and men deranged by sickness, in some aberration of spirit or distemper of body, have indulged in empty and strange imaginings, because they had the evil genius of superstition in themselves. But if Dion and Brutus, men of solid understanding and philosophic training and not easily cast down or overpowered by anything that happened to them, were so affected by a spectre that they actually told others about it, I do not know but we shall be compelled to accept that most extraordinary doctrine of the oldest times, that mean and malignant spirits, in envy of good men and opposition to their noble deeds, try to confound and terrify them, causing their virtue to rock and totter, in order that they may not continue erect and inviolate in the path of honour and so attain a better portion after death than the spirits themselves. But this subject must be reserved for discussion elsewhere, and in this, the twelfth book[1]

[1] The *Pericles* was part of the tenth "book" (chapter ii. 3), the *Demosthenes* part of the fifth (chapter iii. 1). The ordinary arrangement of the *Lives* is purely arbitrary.

κάτω τῶν παραλλήλων ὄντι βίων, τὸν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου προεισαγάγωμεν.

III. Διονύσιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστὰς εὐθὺς ἔγημε τὴν Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Συρακουσίου θυγατέρα. ταύτην, οὔπω τῆς τυραννίδος ἱδρυμένης βεβαίως, ἀποστάντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι δεινὰς καὶ παρανόμους ὕβρεις εἰς τὸ σῶμα καθύβρισαν, ἐφ' αἷς προήκατο τὸν βίον ἑκουσίως. 959
2 Διονύσιος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ κρατυνάμενος αὖθις ἄγεται δύο γυναῖκας ἅμα, τὴν μὲν ἐκ Λοκρῶν ὄνομα Δωρίδα, τὴν δὲ ἐπιχώριον Ἀριστομάχην, θυγατέρα Ἱππαρίνου, πρωτεύσαντος ἀνδρὸς Συρακουσίων καὶ Διονυσίῳ συνάρξαντος ὅτε πρῶτον αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ᾑρέθη στρατηγός. λέγεται δ' ἡμέρᾳ μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἀγαγέσθαι μιᾷ καὶ μηδενὶ γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁποτέρᾳ προτέρᾳ συνέλθοι, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἴσον νέμων ἑαυτὸν διατελεῖν ἑκατέρᾳ, κοινῇ μὲν εἰθισμένων δειπνεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ, παρὰ
3 νύκτα δὲ ἐν μέρει συναναπαυομένων. καίτοι τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐβούλετο τὸ πλῆθος τὴν ἐγγενῆ πλέον ἔχειν τῆς ξένης· ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῃ προτέρᾳ ὑπῆρχε τεκούσῃ τὸν πρεσβεύοντα τῆς Διονυσίου γενεᾶς υἱὸν αὐτῇ βοηθεῖν πρὸς τὸ γένος. ἡ δὲ Ἀριστομάχη πολὺν χρόνον ἄπαις συνῴκει τῷ Διονυσίῳ καίπερ σπουδάζοντι περὶ τὴν ἐκ ταύτης τέκνωσιν, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς Λοκρίδος αἰτιασάμενος καταφαρμακεύειν τὴν Ἀριστομάχην ἀπέκτεινε.

IV. Ταύτης ἀδελφὸς ὢν ὁ Δίων ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εἶχε τιμὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ

of my Parallel Lives, I shall begin with that of the elder man.

III. Dionysius the Elder, after assuming the reins of government,[1] at once married the daughter of Hermocrates the Syracusan. But she, since the tyranny was not yet securely established, was terribly and outrageously abused in her person by the seditious Syracusans, and in consequence put an end to her own life. Then Dionysius, after resuming the power and making himself strong again, married two wives at once, one from Locri, whose name was Doris, the other a native of the city, Aristomache, daughter of Hipparinus, who was a leading man in Syracuse, and had been a colleague of Dionysius when he was first chosen general with full powers for the war. It is said that he married both wives on one day, and that no man ever knew with which of the two he first consorted, but that ever after he continued to devote himself alike to each; it was their custom to sup with him together, and they shared his bed at night by turns. And yet the people of Syracuse wished that their countrywoman should be honoured above the stranger; but Doris had the good fortune to become a mother first, and by presenting Dionysius with his eldest son she atoned for her foreign birth. Aristomache, on the contrary, was for a long time a barren wife, although Dionysius was desirous to have children by her; at any rate, he accused the mother of his Locrian wife of giving Aristomache drugs to prevent conception, and put her to death.

IV. Now, Dion was a brother of Aristomache, and at first was honoured because of his sister; after-

[1] In 405 B.C.

φρονεῖν διδοὺς πεῖραν, ἤδη καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἠγαπᾶτο παρὰ τῷ τυράννῳ. καὶ πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴρητο τοῖς ταμίαις ὅ τι ἂν αἰτῇ Δίων διδόναι, δόντας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐθημερὸν φράζειν. ὢν δὲ καὶ πρότερον ὑψηλὸς τῷ ἤθει καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ ἀνδρώδης, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκε πρὸς ταῦτα θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ Πλάτωνος εἰς Σικελίαν παραβα-
2 λόντος, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπινον· ἀλλὰ δαίμων τις, ὡς ἔοικε, πόρρωθεν ἀρχὴν ἐλευθερίας βαλλόμενος Συρακουσίοις, καὶ τυραννίδος κατάλυσιν μηχανώμενος, ἐκόμισεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἰς Συρακούσας Πλάτωνα καὶ Δίωνα συνήγαγεν εἰς λόγους αὐτῷ, νέον μὲν ὄντα κομιδῇ, πολὺ δὲ εὐμαθέστατον ἁπάντων τῶν Πλάτωνι συγγεγονότων καὶ ὀξύτατον ὑπακοῦσαι πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὡς αὐτὸς γέγραφε Πλάτων, καὶ τὰ πράγματα μαρτυρεῖ.
3 τραφεὶς γὰρ ἐν ἤθεσιν ὑπὸ τυράννῳ ταπεινοῖς, καὶ βίου μὲν ἀνίσου καὶ καταφόβου, θεραπείας δὲ νεοπλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς ἀπειροκάλου καὶ διαίτης ἐν ἡδοναῖς καὶ πλεονεξίαις τιθεμένης τὸ καλὸν ἐθὰς καὶ μεστὸς γενόμενος, ὡς πρῶτον ἐγεύσατο λόγου καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἡγεμονικῆς πρὸς ἀρετήν, ἀνεφλέχθη τὴν ψυχὴν ταχύ, καὶ τῇ περὶ αὑτὸν εὐπειθείᾳ τῶν καλῶν ἀκάκως πάνυ καὶ νεωτερικῶς προσδοκήσας ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ὅμοια πείσεσθαι Διονύσιον, ἐσπούδασε καὶ διεπράξατο ποιησάμενος σχολὴν αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν Πλάτωνι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.

wards, however, he gave proof of his wisdom, and was presently beloved by the tyrant for his own sake. In addition to all his other favours, Dionysius ordered his treasurers to give Dion whatever he asked, although they were to tell Dionysius on the same day what they had given. But though Dion was even before of a lofty character, magnanimous, and manly, he advanced still more in these high qualities when, by some divine good fortune, Plato came to Sicily.[1] This was not of man's devising, but some heavenly power, as it would seem, laying far in advance of the time a foundation for the liberty of Syracuse, and devising a subversion of tyranny, brought Plato from Italy to Syracuse and made Dion his disciple. Dion was then quite young, but of all the companions of Plato he was by far the quickest to learn and the readiest to answer the call of virtue, as Plato himself has written,[2] and as events testify. For though he had been reared in habits of submission under a tyrant, and though he was fully accustomed to a life that was subservient and timorous, as well as to ostentatious service at court and vulgar luxury and a regimen that counts pleasures and excesses as the highest good, nevertheless, as soon as he got a taste of a rational philosophy which led the way to virtue, his soul was speedily on fire; and since he very artlessly and impulsively expected, from his own ready obedience to the call of higher things, that the same arguments would have a like persuasive force with Dionysius, he earnestly set to work and at last brought it to pass that the tyrant, in a leisure hour, should meet Plato and hear him discourse.

[1] About 388 B.C., if this first visit be not a myth.
[2] *Epist.* vii. p. 327.

V. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς συνουσίας αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ὅλον περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς, πλείστων δὲ περὶ ἀνδρείας διαπορηθέντων, ὡς πάντας[1] μᾶλλον ὁ Πλάτων ἢ τοὺς τυράννους ἀπέφαινεν ἀνδρείους, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραπόμενος περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐδίδασκεν ὡς μακάριος μὲν ὁ τῶν δικαίων, ἄθλιος δὲ ὁ τῶν ἀδίκων βίος, οὔτε τοὺς λόγους ἔφερεν ὁ τύραννος ὥσπερ ἐξελεγχόμενος, ἤχθετό τε τοῖς παροῦσι θαυμαστῶς ἀποδεχομένοις τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
2 κηλουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων. τέλος δὲ θυμωθεὶς καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὅ τι δὴ βουλόμενος εἰς Σικελίαν παραγένοιτο. τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα ζητεῖν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐκεῖνος, "Ἀλλὰ νὴ τοὺς θεούς," εἶπε, "καὶ φαίνῃ μήπω τοιοῦτον εὑρηκώς." οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Δίωνα τοῦτο τέλος ᾤοντο τῆς ὀργῆς γεγονέναι, 960
καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα σπεύδοντα συνεξέπεμπον ἐπὶ τριήρους, ἣ Πόλλιν ἐκόμιζεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν
3 Σπαρτιάτην· ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος κρύφα τοῦ Πόλλιδος ἐποιήσατο δέησιν μάλιστα μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ πλοῦν, εἰ δὲ μή, πάντως ἀποδόσθαι· βλαβήσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εὐδαιμονήσειν ὁμοίως, δίκαιον ὄντα, κἂν δοῦλος γένηται. διὸ καὶ λέγεται Πόλλις εἰς Αἴγιναν φέρων ἀποδόσθαι Πλάτωνα, πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὄντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ψηφίσματος ὅπως ὁ ληφθεὶς Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ πιπράσκηται.
4 Οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Δίων ἔλαττον εἶχε παρὰ τῷ Διονυσίῳ τιμῆς ἢ πίστεως, ἀλλὰ πρεσβείας τε τὰς μεγίστας διῴκει καὶ πεμπόμενος πρὸς Καρ-

[1] πάντας Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: πάντα.

V. At this meeting the general subject was human virtue, and most of the discussion turned upon manliness. And when Plato set forth that tyrants least of all men had this quality, and then, treating of justice, maintained that the life of the just was blessed, while that of the unjust was wretched, the tyrant, as if convicted by his arguments, would not listen to them, and was vexed with the audience because they admired the speaker and were charmed by his utterances. At last he got exceedingly angry and asked the philosopher why he had come to Sicily. And when Plato said that he was come to seek a virtuous man, the tyrant answered and said: "Well, by the gods, it appears that you have not yet found such an one." Dion thought that this was the end of his anger, and as Plato was eager for it, sent him away upon a trireme, which was conveying Pollis the Spartan to Greece. But Dionysius privily requested Pollis to kill Plato on the voyage, if it were in any way possible, but if not, at all events to sell him into slavery; for he would take no harm, but would be quite as happy, being a just man, even if he should become a slave. Pollis, therefore, as we are told, carried Plato to Aegina and there sold him; for the Aeginetans were at war with the Athenians and had made a decree that any Athenian taken on the island should be put up for sale.

In spite of all this, Dion stood in no less honour and credit with Dionysius than before, but had the management of the most important embassies, as, for instance, when he was sent to Carthage and won

χηδονίους ἐθαυμάσθη διαφερόντως· καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν ἔφερεν αὐτοῦ μόνου σχεδὸν ἀδεῶς λέγοντος τὸ παριστάμενον, ὡς καὶ τὴν περὶ Γέλωνος ἐπίπληξιν. χλευαζομένης γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς Γέλωνος ἀρχῆς, αὐτόν τε τὸν Γέλωνα τοῦ Διονυσίου γέλωτα τῆς Σικελίας γεγονέναι φήσαντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸ σκῶμμα προσεποιοῦντο θαυμάζειν, ὁ δὲ Δίων δυσχεράνας, "Καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "σὺ τυραννεῖς διὰ Γέλωνα πιστευθείς· διὰ σὲ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος πιστευθήσεται." τῷ γὰρ ὄντι φαίνεται κάλλιστον μὲν Γέλων ἐπιδειξάμενος θέαμα μοναρχουμένην πόλιν, αἴσχιστον δὲ Διονύσιος.

VI. Ὄντων δὲ Διονυσίῳ παίδων τριῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Λοκρίδος, τεττάρων δὲ ἐξ Ἀριστομάχης, ὧν δύο ἦσαν θυγατέρες, Σωφροσύνη καὶ Ἀρέτη, Σωφροσύνη μὲν Διονυσίῳ τῷ υἱῷ συνῴκησεν, Ἀρέτη δὲ Θεαρίδῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Θεαρίδου Δίων ἔλαβε τὴν Ἀρέτην
2 ἀδελφιδῆν οὖσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ νοσῶν ἔδοξεν ὁ Διονύσιος ἀβιώτως ἔχειν, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστομάχης τέκνων ὁ Δίων, οἱ δ' ἰατροὶ τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθαι χαριζόμενοι καιρὸν οὐ παρέσχον· ὡς δὲ Τίμαιός φησι, καὶ φάρμακον ὑπνωτικὸν αἰτοῦντι δόντες ἀφείλοντο τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ συνάψαντες τὸν ὕπνον.

3 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συλλόγου πρώτου τῶν φίλων γενομένου παρὰ τὸν νέον Διονύσιον οὕτω διελέχθη περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ὁ

great admiration. The tyrant also bore with his freedom of speech, and Dion was almost the only one who spoke his mind fearlessly, as, for example, when he rebuked Dionysius for what he said about Gelon. The tyrant was ridiculing the government of Gelon,[1] and when he said that Gelon himself, true to his name, became the *laughing-stock* ("gelos") of Sicily, the rest of his hearers pretended to admire the joke, but Dion was disgusted and said: "Indeed, thou art now tyrant because men trusted thee for Gelon's sake; but no man hereafter will be trusted for thy sake." For, as a matter of fact, Gelon seems to have made a city under absolute rule a very fair thing to look upon, but Dionysius a very shameful thing.

VI. Dionysius had three children by his Locrian wife, and four by Aristomache, two of whom were daughters, Sophrosyne and Arete. Sophrosyne became the wife of his son Dionysius,[2] and Arete of his brother Thearides, but after the death of Thearides, Arete became the wife of Dion, her uncle. Now, when Dionysius was sick and seemed likely to die, Dion tried to confer with him in the interests of his children by Aristomache, but the physicians, who wished to ingratiate themselves with the heir apparent, would not permit it; moreover, according to Timaeus, when the sick man asked for a sleeping potion, they gave him one that robbed him of his senses and made death follow sleep.[3]

However, in the first conference held between the young Dionysius and his friends, Dion discoursed upon the needs of the situation in such a manner

[1] Gelon had been tyrant of Syracuse *circa* 485–478 B.C.
[2] Cf. chapter iii. 3. [3] In 367 B.C.

Δίων ὥστε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τῇ μὲν φρονήσει παῖδας ἀποδεῖξαι, τῇ δὲ παρρησίᾳ δούλους τῆς τυραννίδος ἀγεννῶς καὶ περιφόβως τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς
4 χάριν τῷ μειρακίῳ συμβουλεύοντας. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξέπληξε τὸν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος κίνδυνον ἐπικρεμάμενον τῇ ἀρχῇ δεδοικότας, ὑποσχόμενος, εἰ μὲν εἰρήνης δέοιτο Διονύσιος, πλεύσας εὐθὺς εἰς Λιβύην ὡς ἄριστα διαθήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ δὲ πολεμεῖν προθυμοῖτο, θρέψειν αὐτὸς ἰδίοις τέλεσι καὶ παρέξειν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας.[1]

VII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Διονύσιος ὑπερφυῶς τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἠγάπησεν· οἱ δὲ ἐλέγχεσθαι τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Δίωνος οἰόμενοι, ταύτην εὐθὺς ἀρχὴν λαβόντες, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐφείδοντο φωνῆς ᾗ τὸ μειράκιον ἐξαγριαίνειν ἔμελλον πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ὑπερχόμενον διὰ τῆς θαλάττης τυραννίδα καὶ περισπῶντα ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τοὺς Ἀριστομάχης παῖδας, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὄντας
2 αὐτῷ. φανερώταται δὲ καὶ μέγισται τῶν εἰς φθόνον καὶ μῖσος αἰτιῶν ὑπῆρχον ἡ τοῦ βίου διαφορὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς διαίτης ἄμικτον. οἱ μὲν γάρ, εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς νέου τυράννου καὶ τεθραμμένου φαύλως ὁμιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ἡδοναῖς καὶ κολακείαις καταλαμβάνοντες, ἀεί τινας ἔρωτας καὶ διατριβὰς ἐμηχανῶντο ῥεμβώδεις περὶ πότους
3 καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ παιδιὰς ἑτέρας ἀσχήμονας, ὑφ' 961
ὧν ἡ τυραννίς, ὥσπερ σίδηρος, μαλασσομένη, τοῖς μὲν ἀρχομένοις ἐφάνη φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ λίαν ἀπάνθρωπον ὑπανῆκεν, οὐκ ἐπιεικείᾳ τινὶ

[1] εὖ πλεούσας van Herwerden : πλεούσας.

that his wisdom made all the rest appear children, and his boldness of speech made them seem mere slaves of tyranny, who were wont to give their counsels timorously and ignobly to gratify the young man. But what most amazed them in their fear of the peril that threatened the realm from Carthage, was Dion's promise that, if Dionysius wanted peace, he would sail at once to Africa and put a stop to the war on the best terms possible; but if war was the king's desire, he himself would furnish him with fifty swift triremes for the war, and maintain them at his own costs.

VII. Dionysius, then, was greatly astonished at his magnanimity and delighted with his ardour; but the other courtiers, thinking themselves put out of countenance by Dion's generosity and humbled by his power, began hostilities forthwith, and said everything they could to embitter the young king against him, accusing him of stealing into the position of tyrant by means of his power on the sea, and of using his ships to divert the power into the hands of the children of Aristomache, who were his nephews and nieces. But the strongest and most apparent grounds for their envy and hatred of him lay in the difference between his way of life and theirs, and in his refusal to mingle with others. For from the very outset they obtained converse and intimacy with a tyrant who was young and had been badly reared by means of pleasures and flatteries, and were ever contriving for him sundry amours, idle amusements with wine and women, and other unseemly pastimes. In this way the tyranny, being softened, like iron in the fire, appeared to its subjects to be kindly, and gradually remitted its excessive

μᾶλλον ᾗ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀμβλυνομένη. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προϊοῦσα καὶ νεμομένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἡ περὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἄνεσις τοὺς ἀδαμαντίνους δεσμοὺς ἐκείνους, οἷς ὁ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος ἔφη δεδεμένην ἀπολείπειν τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἐξέτηξε
4 καὶ διέφθειρεν. ἡμέρας γάρ, ὥς φασιν, ἐνενήκοντα συνεχῶς ἔπινεν ἀρξάμενος, καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ σπουδαίοις ἀνδράσι καὶ λόγοις ἄβατον καὶ ἀνείσοδον οὖσαν μέθαι καὶ σκώμματα καὶ ψαλμοὶ καὶ ὀρχήσεις καὶ βωμολοχίαι κατεῖχον.

VIII. Ἦν οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, ὁ Δίων ἐπαχθὴς εἰς οὐδὲν ἡδὺ καὶ νεωτερικὸν ἐνδιδοὺς ἑαυτόν. διὸ καὶ πιθανὰ κακιῶν προσρήματα ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐπιφέροντες αὐτοῦ διέβαλλον, ὑπεροψίαν τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐθάδειαν ἀποκαλοῦντες· καὶ νουθετῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐδόκει καὶ μὴ
2 συνεξαμαρτάνων καταφρονεῖν. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ φύσει τινὰ τὸ ἦθος ὄγκον εἶχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τραχύτητα δυσπρόσοδον ἐντεύξει καὶ δυσξύμβολον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ διατεθρυμμένῳ τὰ ὦτα κολακείαις ἄχαρις ἦν συγγενέσθαι καὶ προσάντης, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πάνυ χρωμένων αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἁπλότητα καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ἀγαπώντων τοῦ τρόπου κατεμέμφοντο τῆς ὁμιλίας, ὡς ἀγροικότερον καὶ βαρύτερον πολιτικῶν χρειῶν τοῖς δεομένοις
3 συναλλάσσοντα. περὶ ὧν καὶ Πλάτων ὕστερον ὥσπερ ἀποθεσπίζων ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξευ-

cruelty, though its edge was blunted not so much by any clemency in the sovereign as by his love of ease. As a consequence, the laxity of the young king gained ground little by little, until at last those "adamantine bonds" with which the elder Dionysius said he had left the monarchy fastened, were melted and destroyed. For it is said that the young king once kept up a drinking bout for ninety consecutive days from its beginning, and that during this time his court gave no access or admission to men or matters of consequence, but drunkenness and raillery and music and dancing and buffoonery held full sway.

VIII. Dion, then, as was natural, was obnoxious to these men, since he indulged in no pleasure or youthful folly. And so they tried to calumniate him by actually giving to his virtues plausible names of vices; for instance, they called his dignity haughtiness, and his boldness of speech self-will. Even when he admonished, he was thought to denounce, and when he would not share men's sins, to despise. And in very truth his character had naturally a certain majesty, together with a harshness that repelled intercourse and was hard to deal with. For not only to a man who was young and whose ears had been corrupted by flattery was he an unpleasant and irksome associate, but many also who were intimate with him and who loved the simplicity and nobility of his disposition, were apt to find fault with the manner of his intercourse with men, on the ground that he dealt with those who sought his aid more rudely and harshly than was needful in public life. On this head Plato also afterwards wrote to him,[1] in a tone almost prophetic, that he should

[1] *Epist.* iv. *ad fin.*

λαβεῖσθαι τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὡς ἐρημίᾳ συνοικοῦσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε πλείστου δοκῶν ἄξιος ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὰ πράγματα καὶ μόνος ἢ μάλιστα τὴν τυραννίδα σαλεύουσαν ἀνορθοῦν καὶ διαφυλάττειν, ἐγίνωσκεν οὐ πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἄκοντος ὑπὸ χρείας τοῦ τυράννου πρῶτος ὢν καὶ μέγιστος.

IX. Αἰτίαν δὲ τούτου τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν εἶναι νομίζων ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς διατριβὰς ἐλευθερίους ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο καὶ γεῦσαι λόγων καὶ μαθημάτων ἠθοποιῶν, ὡς ἀρετήν τε παύσαιτο δεδιὼς καὶ
2 τοῖς καλοῖς χαίρειν ἐθισθείη. φύσει γὰρ οὐ γεγόνει τῶν φαυλοτάτων τυράννων ὁ Διονύσιος, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ, δεδοικὼς μὴ φρονήματος μεταλαβὼν καὶ συγγενόμενος νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιβουλεύσειεν αὐτῷ καὶ παρέλοιτο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐφρούρει κατάκλειστον οἴκοι, δι' ἐρημίαν ὁμιλίας ἑτέρας καὶ ἀπειρίᾳ πραγμάτων, ὥς φασιν, ἁμάξια καὶ λυχνίας καὶ δίφρους ξυλίνους καὶ τραπέζας
3 τεκταινόμενον. οὕτω γὰρ ἦν ἄπιστος καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὕποπτος καὶ προβεβλημένος διὰ φόβον ὁ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος ὥστε μηδὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας ἀφελεῖν[1] κουρικαῖς μαχαίραις, ἀλλὰ τῶν πλαστῶν τις ἐπιφοιτῶν ἄνθρακι τὴν κόμην περιέκαιεν. εἰσῄει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον οὔτε ἀδελφὸς οὔθ' υἱὸς ὡς ἔτυχεν ἠμφιεσμένος, ἀλλ' ἔδει πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν ἀποδύντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στολὴν ἕκαστον ἑτέραν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὁραθέντα γυμνὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλαττόν-
4 των. ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεπτίνης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ ποτε

[1] ἀφελεῖν Bekker, after Coraës, has ἀφαιρεῖν.

be on his guard against self-will, which was a "companion of solitude."[1] However, at this time, though circumstances led men to think him of more value than any one else, and the only or the chief supporter and guardian of the storm-tossed tyranny, he knew that it was not out of goodwill, but against the wishes of the tyrant and owing to his needs, that he was first and greatest.

IX. Considering, then, that a reason for this lay in the tyrant's want of education, he sought to engage him in liberal studies, and to give him a taste of such literature and science as formed the character, in order that he might cease to be afraid of virtue, and become accustomed to take delight in what was high and noble. For by nature Dionysius did not belong to the worst class of tyrants, but his father, fearing that if he should get wisdom and associate with men of sense, he would plot against him and rob him of his power, used to keep him closely shut up at home, where, through lack of association with others and in ignorance of affairs, as we are told, he made little waggons and lampstands and wooden chairs and tables. For the elder Dionysius was so distrustful and suspicious towards every body, and his fear led him to be so much on his guard, that he would not even have his hair cut with barbers' scissors, but a hairdresser would come and singe his locks with a live coal. Neither his brother nor his son could visit him in his apartment wearing any clothes they pleased, but every one had to take off his own apparel before entering and put on another, after the guards had seen him stripped. And once, when his brother Leptines was describing to

[1] Cf. the *Coriolanus*, xv. 4.

χωρίου φύσιν ἐξηγούμενος λαβὼν λόγχην παρά
τινος τῶν δορυφόρων ὑπέγραψε τὸν τόπον, ἐκείνῳ
μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐχαλέπηνε, τὸν δὲ δόντα τὴν λόγχην
ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς φίλους φυλάττεσθαι
νοῦν ἔχοντας εἰδὼς καὶ βουλομένους μᾶλλον
5 τυραννεῖν ἢ τυραννεῖσθαι. καὶ Μαρσύαν δέ τινα
τῶν προηγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τεταγμένων ἐφ'
ἡγεμονίας ἀνεῖλε δόξαντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους
σφάττειν αὐτόν, ὡς ἀπ' ἐννοίας μεθημερινῆς καὶ 962
διαλογισμοῦ τῆς ὄψεως ταύτης εἰς τὸν ὕπνον
αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πλάτωνι θυμω-
θεὶς ὅτι μὴ πάντων αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀνδρειότατον
ὄντα ἀπέφηνεν, οὕτω περίφοβον καὶ τοσούτων
ὑπὸ δειλίας κακῶν μεστὴν εἶχε τὴν ψυχήν.

X. Τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηται, διαλε-
λωβημένον ἀπαιδευσίᾳ καὶ συντετριμμένον τὸ
ἦθος ὁ Δίων ὁρῶν παρεκάλει πρὸς παιδείαν
τραπέσθαι καὶ δεηθῆναι τοῦ πρώτου τῶν φιλοσό-
2 φων πᾶσαν δέησιν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν· ἐλθόντι
δὲ παρασχεῖν αὐτόν, ὅπως διακοσμηθεὶς τὸ ἦθος
εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ θειότατον ἀφομοιω-
θεὶς παράδειγμα τῶν ὄντων καὶ κάλλιστον, ᾧ τὸ
πᾶν ἡγουμένῳ πειθόμενον ἐξ ἀκοσμίας κόσμος
ἐστί, πολλὴν μὲν εὐδαιμονίαν ἑαυτῷ μηχανήσεται,
πολλὴν δὲ τοῖς πολίταις, ὅσα νῦν ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ
διοικοῦσι πρὸς ἀνάγκην τῆς ἀρχῆς, ταῦτα σωφρο-
σύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μετ' εὐμενείας πατρονομού-
μενα παρασχὼν καὶ γενόμενος βασιλεὺς ἐκ τυράν-
3 νου. τοὺς γὰρ ἀδαμαντίνους δεσμοὺς οὐχ, ὥσπερ ὁ

him the nature of a place, and drew the plan of it on the ground with a spear which he took from one of his body-guards, he was extremely angry with him, and had the man who gave him the spear put to death. He used to say, too, that he was on his guard against his friends who were men of sense, because he knew that they would rather be tyrants than subjects of a tyrant. And he slew Marsyas, one of those whom he had advanced to positions of high command, for having dreamed that he killed him, declaring that this vision must have visited his sleep because in his waking hours he had purposed and planned such a deed. Yes, the man who was angry with Plato because he would not pronounce him the most valiant man alive, had a spirit as timorous as this, and so full of all the evils induced by cowardice.

X. This tyrant's son, as I have said, Dion saw to be dwarfed and deformed in character from his lack of education, and therefore exhorted him to apply himself to study, and to use every entreaty with the first of philosophers to come to Sicily, and, when he came, to become his disciple, in order that his character might be regulated by the principles of virtue, and that he might be conformed to that divinest and most beautiful model of all being, in obedience to whose direction the universe issues from disorder into order; in this way he would procure great happiness for himself, and great happiness for his people, and that obedience which they now rendered dejectedly and under the compulsion of his authority, this his moderation and justice would base upon goodwill and a filial spirit, and he would become a king instead of a tyrant. For the "adamantine bonds" of sovereignty were not, as his

πατὴρ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῦ, φόβον καὶ βίαν καὶ νεῶν
πλῆθος εἶναι καὶ βαρβάρων μυρίανδρον φυλακήν,
εὔνοιαν δὲ καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ χάριν ἐγγενομένην
ὑπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἅ, καίπερ ὄντα
μαλακώτερα τῶν συντόνων καὶ σκληρῶν ἐκείνων,
ἰσχυρότερα πρὸς διαμονὴν ἡγεμονίας ὑπάρχειν.
4 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἀφιλότιμον εἶναι καὶ ἄζηλον
τὸν ἄρχοντα, τῷ μὲν σώματι περιττῶς ἀμπεχό-
μενον καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν οἴκησιν ἁβρότητι καὶ
κατασκευῇ λαμπρυνόμενον, ὁμιλίᾳ δὲ καὶ λόγῳ
μηδὲν ὄντα τοῦ προστυχόντος σεμνότερον, μηδὲ
τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ βασίλειον ἀξιοῦντα κεκοσμημένον
ἔχειν βασιλικῶς καὶ πρεπόντως.

XI. Ταῦτα πολλάκις τοῦ Δίωνος παραινοῦντος,
καὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἔστιν οὕστινας ὑπο-
σπείροντος, ἔσχεν ἔρως τὸν Διονύσιον ὀξὺς καὶ
περιμανὴς τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τῆς συνουσίας τοῦ
Πλάτωνος. εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀθήναζε πολλὰ μὲν
ἐφοίτα γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου, πολλαὶ δ'
ἐπισκήψεις παρὰ τοῦ Δίωνος, ἄλλαι δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας
παρὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν, διακελευομένων παρα-
γενέσθαι καὶ νέας ψυχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ
δυνάμει περιφερομένης ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ κατα-
2 σχεῖν ἐμβριθεστέροις λογισμοῖς. Πλάτων μὲν
οὖν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ἑαυτὸν αἰσχυνθεὶς μάλιστα,
μὴ δόξειε λόγος εἶναι μόνον, ἔργου δ' ἑκὼν οὐδενὸς
ἂν ἅψασθαι, καὶ προσδοκήσας δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς
ὥσπερ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρους ἐκκαθαρθέντος ὅλην
ἰατρεύσειν Σικελίαν νοσοῦσαν, ὑπήκουσεν.

Οἱ δὲ τῷ Δίωνι πολεμοῦντες φοβούμενοι τὴν
τοῦ Διονυσίου μεταβολὴν ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς

father used to say, fear and force and a multitude of ships and numberless barbarian body-guards, but goodwill and ardour and favour engendered by virtue and justice; these, though they were more flexible than the bonds of severity and harshness, were stronger to maintain a lasting leadership. And besides all this, it was mean and spiritless in a ruler, while his body was magnificently clothed and his habitation resplendent with luxurious furnishings, to be no more majestic in his intercourse and conversation than an ordinary man, and not to insist that the royal palace of his soul should be adorned in meet and royal fashion.

XI. Since Dion frequently gave him such advice, and artfully mingled with it some of Plato's doctrines, Dionysius was seized with a keen and even frenzied passion for the teachings and companionship of Plato. At once, then, many letters began to come to Athens from Dionysius, and many injunctions from Dion, as well as others from the Pythagorean philosophers of Italy, all of whom urged Plato to come and get control of a youthful soul now tossed about on a sea of great authority and power, and steady it by his weighty reasonings. Plato, accordingly, as he tells us himself,[1] out of shame more than any thing else, lest men should think him nothing but theory and unwilling to take any action; and further, because he expected that by the purification of one man, who was, as it were, a controlling factor, he would cure all Sicily of her distempers, yielded to these requests.

But the enemies of Dion, afraid of the alteration in Dionysius, persuaded him to recall from exile

[1] *Epist.* vii. p. 328.

φυγῆς μεταπέμπεσθαι Φίλιστον, ἄνδρα καὶ πε-
παιδευμένον περὶ λόγους καὶ τυραννικῶν ἠθῶν
ἐμπειρότατον, ὡς ἀντίταγμα πρὸς Πλάτωνα καὶ
3 φιλοσοφίαν ἐκεῖνον ἕξοντες. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Φίλιστος
ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε τῇ τυραννίδι καθισταμένῃ προθυμό-
τατον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχε, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν διεφύλαξε
φρουραρχῶν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. ἦν δὲ λόγος ὡς
καὶ τῇ μητρὶ πλησιάζοι τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Διονυ-
σίου, τοῦ τυράννου μὴ παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦντος.
ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεπτίνης, ἐκ γυναικὸς ἣν διαφθείρας
ἑτέρῳ συνοικοῦσαν ἔσχε γενομένων αὐτῷ δυεῖν
θυγατέρων, τὴν ἑτέραν ἔδωκε Φιλίστῳ μηδὲ φρά-
σας πρὸς Διονύσιον, ὀργισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος τὴν μὲν
γυναῖκα τοῦ Λεπτίνου δήσας ἐν πέδαις καθεῖρξε,
4 τὸν δὲ Φίλιστον ἐξήλασε Σικελίας, φυγόντα παρὰ
ξένους τινὰς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν, ὅπου καὶ δοκεῖ τὰ
πλεῖστα συνθεῖναι τῆς ἱστορίας σχολάζων. οὐ
γὰρ ἐπανῆλθε τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ζῶντος, ἀλλὰ
μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, κατή- 963
γαγεν αὐτὸν ὁ πρὸς Δίωνα τῶν ἄλλων φθόνος, ὡς
αὐτοῖς τε μᾶλλον ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα καὶ τῇ τυραν-
νίδι βεβαιότερον.

XII. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς κατελθὼν διεπεφύκει
τῆς τυραννίδος· τῷ δὲ Δίωνι καὶ παρ' ἄλλων
ἐτύγχανον οὖσαι διαβολαὶ καὶ κατηγορίαι πρὸς
τὸν τύραννον, ὡς διειλεγμένῳ περὶ καταλύσεως
τῆς ἀρχῆς πρός τε Θεοδότην καὶ πρὸς Ἡρα-
κλείδην. ἤλπιζε μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ Πλάτωνος
παραγενομένου τὸ δεσποτικὸν καὶ λίαν ἄκρατον
ἀφελὼν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐμμελῆ τινα καὶ νόμιμον
2 ἄρχοντα τὸν Διονύσιον καταστήσειν· εἰ δὲ ἀντι-

Philistus, a man versed in letters and acquainted with the ways of tyrants, that they might have in him a counterpoise to Plato and philosophy. For Philistus at the outset had most zealously assisted in establishing the tyranny, and for a long time was commander of the garrison that guarded the citadel. There was a story, too, that he was very intimate with the mother of the elder Dionysius, and that the tyrant was not wholly ignorant of the fact. But when Leptines, who had two daughters by a woman whom he had corrupted when she was living with another man and then taken to wife, gave one of them to Philistus without so much as telling Dionysius, the tyrant was wroth, put the wife of Leptines into fetters and prison, and banished Philistus from Sicily. Philistus took refuge with some friends in Adria, and there, it would seem, in his leisure, composed the greater part of his history. For he did not return to Syracuse while the elder Dionysius was alive, but after his death, as I have said, the envy which the other courtiers felt towards Dion brought about his recall; they thought him a more suitable man for their purposes, and a stauncher friend of the tyranny.

XII. Philistus, then, as soon as he had returned, was in close touch with the tyranny; and there were others also who brought slanders and accusations against Dion to the tyrant, alleging that he had been in conference with Theodotes and Heracleides concerning a subversion of the government. For Dion had hopes, as it seems likely, that by means of the visit of Plato he could mitigate the arrogance and excessive severity of the tyranny, and convert Dionysius into a fit and lawful ruler; but if

βαίνοι καὶ μὴ μαλάσσοιτο, καταλύσας ἐκεῖνον ἐγνώκει τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδιδόναι Συρακουσίοις, οὐκ ἐπαινῶν μὲν δημοκρατίαν, πάντως δὲ βελτίω τυραννίδος ἡγούμενος τοῖς διαμαρτάνουσιν ὑγιαινούσης ἀριστοκρατίας.

XIII. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων Πλάτων εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφικόμενος περὶ μὲν τὰς πρώτας ἀπαντήσεις θαυμαστῆς ἐτύγχανε φιλοφροσύνης καὶ τιμῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἅρμα τῶν βασιλικῶν αὐτῷ παρέστη κεκοσμημένον διαπρεπῶς ἀποβάντι τῆς τριήρους, καὶ θυσίαν ἔθυσεν ὁ τύραννος ὡς εὐτυχήματος μεγάλου τῇ ἀρχῇ προσ-
2 γεγονότος. αἰδὼς δὲ συμποσίων καὶ σχηματισμὸς αὐλῆς καὶ πρᾳότης αὐτοῦ τοῦ τυράννου περὶ ἕκαστα τῶν χρηματιζομένων θαυμαστὰς ἐνέδωκεν ἐλπίδας μεταβολῆς τοῖς πολίταις. φορὰ δέ τις ἦν ἐπὶ λόγους καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἁπάντων, καὶ τὸ τυραννεῖον, ὥς φασι, κονιορτὸς ὑπὸ πλή-
3 θους τῶν γεωμετρούντων κατεῖχεν. ἡμερῶν δὲ ὀλίγων διαγενομένων θυσία μὲν ἦν πάτριος ἐν τοῖς τυραννείοις· τοῦ δὲ κήρυκος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, κατευξαμένου διαμένειν τὴν τυραννίδα ἀσάλευτον πολλοὺς χρόνους, ὁ Διονύσιος λέγεται παρεστώς, "Οὐ παύσῃ," φάναι, "καταρώμενος ἡμῖν;" τοῦτο κομιδῇ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φίλιστον ἐλύπησεν, ἄμαχόν τινα τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἡγουμένους ἔσεσθαι χρόνῳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ τὴν δύναμιν, εἰ νῦν ἐκ συνουσίας ὀλίγης ἠλλοίωκεν οὕτω καὶ μεταβέβληκε τὴν γνώμην τὸ μειράκιον.

Dionysius should oppose his efforts and refuse to be softened, he had determined to depose him and restore the civil power to the Syracusan people; not that he approved of a democracy, but he thought it altogether better than a tyranny in lack of a sound and healthy aristocracy.

XIII. Such was the condition of affairs when Plato came to Sicily,[1] and in the first instances he met with astonishing friendliness and honour. For a royal chariot, magnificently adorned, awaited him as he left his trireme, and the tyrant offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the great blessing that had been bestowed upon his government. Moreover, the modesty that characterized his banquets, the decorum of the courtiers, and the mildness of the tyrant himself in all his dealings with the public, inspired the citizens with marvellous hopes of his reformation. There was also something like a general rush for letters and philosophy, and the palace was filled with dust, as they say, owing to the multitude of geometricians there.[2] After a few days had passed, there was one of the customary sacrifices of the country in the palace grounds; and when the herald, as was the custom, prayed that the tyranny might abide unshaken for many generations, it is said that Dionysius, who was standing near, cried: "Stop cursing us!" This quite vexed Philistus and his party, who thought that time and familiarity would render Plato's influence almost irresistible, if now, after a brief intimacy, he had so altered and transformed the sentiments of the youthful prince.

[1] Soon after 368 B.C.

[2] Geometrical figures were traced in loose sand strewn upon the floor.

XIV. Οὐκέτ' οὖν καθ' ἕνα καὶ λαθραίως, ἀλλὰ
πάντες ἀναφανδὸν ἐλοιδόρουν τὸν Δίωνα, λέγοντες
ὡς οὐ λέληθε κατεπᾴδων καὶ καταφαρμάσσων τῷ
Πλάτωνος λόγῳ Διονύσιον, ὅπως ἀφέντος ἑκου-
σίως αὐτοῦ καὶ προεμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπολαβὼν
εἰς τοὺς Ἀριστομάχης περιστήσῃ παῖδας, ὧν
θεῖός ἐστιν. ἔνιοι δὲ προσεποιοῦντο δυσχεραί-
νειν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ναυτικαῖς καὶ
πεζικαῖς δυνάμεσι μεγάλαις δεῦρο πλεύσαντες
ἀπώλοντο καὶ διεφθάρησαν πρότερον ἢ λαβεῖν
2 Συρακούσας, νυνὶ δὲ δι' ἑνὸς σοφιστοῦ καταλύουσι
τὴν Διονυσίου τυραννίδα, συμπείσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ
τῶν μυρίων δορυφόρων ἀποδράντα, καὶ καταλι-
πόντα τὰς τετρακοσίας τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς μυρίους
ἱππεῖς καὶ τοὺς πολλάκις τοσούτους ὁπλίτας, ἐν
Ἀκαδημείᾳ τὸ σιωπώμενον ἀγαθὸν ζητεῖν καὶ διὰ
γεωμετρίας εὐδαίμονα γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ
χρήμασι καὶ τρυφαῖς εὐδαιμονίαν Δίωνι καὶ τοῖς
Δίωνος ἀδελφιδοῖς προέμενον.
3 Ἐκ τούτων ὑποψίας πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ φανερω-
τέρας ὀργῆς καὶ διαφορᾶς γενομένης, ἐκομίσθη τις
ἐπιστολὴ κρύφα πρὸς Διονύσιον, ἣν ἐγεγράφει
Δίων πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίων ἐπιμελητὰς κελεύων,
ὅταν Διονυσίῳ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης διαλέγωνται, μὴ
χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν, ὡς πάντα
4 θησομένους ἀμεταπτώτως δι' αὐτοῦ. ταύτην
ἀναγνοὺς Διονύσιος Φιλίστῳ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου
βουλευσάμενος, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, ὑπῆλθε τὸν
Δίωνα πεπλασμέναις διαλύσεσι· καὶ μέτρια
σκηψάμενος διαλλάττεσθαί τε φήσας, μόνον τε
ἀπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πρὸς τὴν θάλασ- 964

XIV. They therefore no longer abused Dion one by one and secretly, but all together and openly, saying that he was manifestly enchanting and bewitching Dionysius with Plato's doctrines, in order that the tyrant might of his own accord relinquish and give up the power, which Dion would then assume and devolve upon the children of Aristomache, whose uncle he was. And some pretended to be indignant that the Athenians, who in former times had sailed to Sicily with large land and sea forces, but had perished utterly without taking Syracuse, should now, by means of one sophist, overthrow the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss his ten thousand body-guards, and abandon his four hundred triremes and his ten thousand horsemen and his many times that number of men-at-arms, in order to seek in Academic philosophy for a mysterious good, and make geometry his guide to happiness, surrendering the happiness that was based on dominion and wealth and luxury to Dion and Dion's nephews and nieces.

As a consequence of all this, Dionysius became at first suspicious, and afterwards more openly angry and hostile, and just then a certain letter was secretly brought to him, which Dion had written to the Carthaginian officials, urging them, whenever they should treat with Dionysius for peace, not to hold their interview without including him, since he would help them to arrange everything securely. This letter Dionysius read to Philistus, and after consulting with him, according to Timaeus, he beguiled Dion by a feigned reconciliation. That is, after moderate protestations and a declaration that their quarrel was at an end, he led him off alone beneath the

σαν, ἔδειξε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ κατηγόρησεν ὡς συνισταμένου μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' αὐτόν.
5 ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὲ βουλομένου τοῦ Δίωνος οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθύς, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐνθέμενος εἰς ἀκάτιον προσέταξε τοῖς ναύταις κομίζοντας αὐτὸν ἐκθεῖναι πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

XV. Γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ φανέντος ὠμοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννου πένθος εἶχε διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐπῆρτο πράγματα νεώτερα καὶ μεταβολὴν προσδεχομένη ταχεῖαν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Δίωνα θορύβου καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἀπιστίας τῶν
2 ἄλλων. ἃ δὴ συνορῶν ὁ Διονύσιος καὶ δεδοικώς, τοὺς μὲν φίλους παρεμυθεῖτο καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς οὐ φυγῆς, ἀλλ' ἀποδημίας τῷ Δίωνι γεγενημένης, ὡς μή τι χεῖρον ὀργῇ πρὸς τὴν αὐθάδειαν αὐτοῦ παρόντος ἁμαρτεῖν βιασθείη· δύο δὲ ναῦς παραδοὺς τοῖς Δίωνος οἰκείοις ἐκέλευσεν ἐνθεμένοις ὅσα βούλοιντο τῶν ἐκείνου χρήματα καὶ θεράποντας
3 ἀπάγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. ἦν δ' οὐσία μεγάλη τῷ Δίωνι καὶ σχεδόν τι τυραννικὴ πομπὴ καὶ κατασκευὴ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ἣν οἱ φίλοι συλλαβόντες ἐκόμιζον. ἄλλα δ' ἐπέμπετο πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων, ὥστε χρημάτων ἕνεκα καὶ πλούτου λαμπρὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι καὶ διαφανῆναι τῇ τοῦ φυγάδος εὐπορίᾳ τὴν τῆς τυραννίδος δύναμιν.

XVI. Πλάτωνα δὲ Διονύσιος εὐθὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετέστησεν, ἔντιμον αὐτῷ σχήματι

acropolis down to the sea, and then showed him the letter and accused him of conspiring with the Carthaginians against him. And when Dion wished to defend himself, he would not suffer it, but at once placed him, just as he was, on board a small boat, and commanded the sailors in it to set him ashore in Italy.

XV. At this proceeding, which seemed to men a cruel one, the women in the household of the tyrant put on mourning, but the citizens of Syracuse were cheered by the expectation of a revolution and a speedy change in the government, since Dion's treatment caused such a commotion and the rest of the courtiers distrusted the tyrant. Dionysius saw this and was afraid, and sought to console the friends of Dion and the women by saying that he had not sent Dion into exile, but upon a journey, in order that his wrath at the man's self-will when at home might not drive him to do him some worse wrong. He also handed over two ships to the kinsmen of Dion and bade them to put on board whatever property and servants of Dion's they pleased and convey them to him in Peloponnesus. Now, Dion had great riches and an almost princely splendour of appointment in his way of living, and this his friends got together and conveyed to him. Besides, many other things were sent to him from the women of the court and from his adherents, so that, as far as wealth and riches went, he was a brilliant figure among the Greeks, to whom the affluence of the exile gave some idea of the power of the tyrant.

XVI. As for Plato, Dionysius at once removed him to the acropolis, where he contrived to give

ξενίας φιλανθρώπου φρουρὰν μηχανησάμενος, ὡς μὴ συμπλέοι Δίωνι μάρτυς ὢν ἠδίκητο. χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ συνδιαιτήσει, καθάπερ ψαύειν ἀνθρώπου θηρίον, ἐθισθεὶς ὑπομένειν τήν τε[1] ὁμιλίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἠράσθη τυραννικὸν ἔρωτα, μόνος ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἀντερᾶσθαι καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι μάλιστα πάντων, ἕτοιμος ὢν ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα μὴ προτιμῶντι

2 τὴν πρὸς Δίωνα φιλίαν τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦν οὖν τῷ Πλάτωνι συμφορὰ τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ τοῦτο, μαινομένου καθάπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ὀργὰς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, πολλὰς δὲ διαλλαγὰς καὶ δεήσεις ποιουμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀκροᾶσθαι δὲ τῶν λόγων καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῆς περὶ φιλοσοφίαν πραγματείας σπουδάζοντος μὲν ὑπερφυῶς, αἰδουμένου δὲ τοὺς ἀποτρέποντας ὡς διαφθαρησομένου.

3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολέμου τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος ἀποπέμπει τὸν Πλάτωνα, συνθέμενος εἰς ὥραν ἔτους μεταπέμψασθαι Δίωνα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο, τὰς δὲ προσόδους τῶν κτημάτων ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτῷ, ἀξιῶν Πλάτωνα συγγνῶναι περὶ τοῦ χρόνου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον· εἰρήνης γὰρ γενομένης τάχιστα μεταπέμψεσθαι τὸν Δίωνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν αὐτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν μηδὲ βλασφημεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

XVII. Ταῦτα ἐπειρᾶτο ποιεῖν Πλάτων, καὶ Δίωνα τρέψας ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ συνεῖχεν. ᾤκει μὲν οὖν ἐν ἄστει παρὰ Καλλίππῳ τινὶ τῶν γνωρίμων, ἀγρὸν δὲ διαγωγῆς

[1] ὑπομένειν τήν τε Schenkl : ὑπομένειν τε τήν.

him a guard of honour under pretence of hospitable kindness, in order that he might not accompany Dion and bear witness to his wrongs. But after time and intercourse had accustomed Dionysius to tolerate his society and discourse, just as a wild beast learns to have dealings with men, he conceived a passion for him that was worthy of a tyrant, demanding that he alone should have his love returned by Plato and be admired beyond all others, and he was ready to entrust Plato with the administration of the tyranny if only he would not set his friendship for Dion above that which he had for him. Now, this passion of his was a calamity for Plato, for the tyrant was mad with jealousy, as desperate lovers are, and in a short space of time would often be angry with him and as often beg to be reconciled; for he was extravagantly eager to hear his doctrines and share in his philosophical pursuits, but he dreaded the censure of those who tried to divert him from this course as likely to corrupt him.

At this juncture, however, a war broke out, and he sent Plato away, promising him that in the summer he would summon Dion home. This promise, indeed, he immediately broke, but he kept sending to Dion the revenues from his property, and asked Plato to pardon his postponement of the time of Dion's recall, because of the war; as soon as peace was made he would summon Dion home, and he asked him to be quiet, and to attempt no revolution, and to say no evil of him to the Greeks.

XVII. This Plato tried to effect, and kept Dion with him in the Academy, where he turned his attention to philosophy. Dion dwelt in the upper city of Athens[1] with Callippus, one of his acquaint-

[1] The "upper city," as distinguished from the Piraeus.

χάριν ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τοῦτον ὕστερον εἰς Σικελίαν
πλέων Σπευσίππῳ δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν, ᾧ μάλιστα
τῶν Ἀθήνησι φίλων ἐχρῆτο καὶ συνδιῃτᾶτο, βου-
λομένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὁμιλίᾳ χάριν ἐχούσῃ καὶ
παιδιᾶς ἐμμελοῦς κατὰ καιρὸν ἁπτομένῃ κεραννύ-
2 μενον ἀφηδύνεσθαι τοῦ Δίωνος τὸ ἦθος. τοιοῦτος
δέ τις ὁ Σπεύσιππος ἦν· ᾗ καὶ σκῶψαι ἀγαθὸν
αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ὁ Τίμων προσηγόρευσεν.
αὐτῷ δὲ Πλάτωνι χορηγοῦντι παίδων χορῷ τόν
τε χορὸν ἤσκησεν ὁ Δίων καὶ τὸ δαπάνημα πᾶν
ἐτέλεσε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, συγχωροῦντος τοῦ Πλάτωνος
τὴν τοιαύτην φιλοτιμίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
ὡς ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον εὔνοιαν ἢ δόξαν αὐτῷ φέρουσαν. 965
3 Ἐπεφοίτα δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁ Δίων,
καὶ συνεσχόλαζε καὶ συνεπανηγύριζε τοῖς ἀρί-
στοις καὶ πολιτικωτάτοις ἀνδράσιν, οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ
διαίτῃ σόλοικον ἐπιδεικνύμενος οὐδὲ τυραννικὸν
οὐδὲ ἐπιτεθρυμμένον, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀρε-
τὴν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περὶ λόγους καὶ περὶ φιλο-
σοφίαν εὐσχήμονας διατριβάς. ἐφ' οἷς εὔνοια
παρὰ πάντων ἐγίνετο καὶ ζῆλος αὐτῷ τιμαί τε
δημόσιαι καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ τῶν πόλεων.
4 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιάτην αὐτὸν ἐποιή-
σαντο, τῆς Διονυσίου καταφρονήσαντες ὀργῆς,
καίπερ αὐτοῖς τότε προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους
συμμαχοῦντος. λέγεται δέ ποτε τὸν Δίωνα τοῦ
Μεγαρέως Πτοιοδώρου δεόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐλθεῖν· ἦν δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν πλουσίων τις καὶ
5 δυνατῶν ὁ Πτοιόδωρος· ὄχλον οὖν ἐπὶ θύραις
ἰδὼν ὁ Δίων καὶ πλῆθος ἀσχολιῶν καὶ δυσέν-
τευκτον αὐτὸν καὶ δυσπρόσοδον, ἀπιδὼν πρὸς
τοὺς φίλους δυσχεραίνοντας καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας,

ances, but for diversion he bought a country-place, and afterwards, when he sailed to Sicily, he gave this to Speusippus, who was his most intimate friend at Athens. For Plato desired that Dion's disposition should be tempered and sweetened by association with men of charming presence who indulged seasonably in graceful pleasantries. And such a man was Speusippus; wherefore Timon, in his "Silli," spoke of him as "good at a jest." And when Plato himself was called upon to furnish a chorus of boys, Dion had the chorus trained and defrayed all the expense of its maintenance, and Plato encouraged in him such an ambition to please the Athenians, on the ground that it would procure goodwill for Dion rather than fame for himself.

Dion used to visit the other cities also, where he shared the leisure and festal enjoyments of the noblest and most statesmanlike men, manifesting in his conduct with them nothing that was rude or arrogant or effeminate, but rather great moderation, virtue, and manliness, and a becoming devotion to letters and philosophy. This procured him the emulous goodwill of all men, and decrees of public honours from the cities. The Lacedaemonians even made him a citizen of Sparta, without any regard for the anger of Dionysius, although at that time the tyrant was their zealous ally against the Thebans. And it is related that Dion once went to pay a visit to Ptoeodorus the Megarian, upon his invitation. Now Ptoeodorus, it would seem, was one of the wealthy and influential men of the city; and when, therefore, Dion saw a crowd of people at his door, and a press of business, which made him difficult of access and hard to come at, he turned to his friends, who were

"Τί τοῦτον," ἔφη, "μεμφόμεθα; καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ πάντως ἐν Συρακούσαις ὅμοια τούτοις ἐποιοῦμεν."

XVIII. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὁ Διονύσιος ζηλοτυπῶν καὶ δεδοικὼς τοῦ Δίωνος τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὔνοιαν, ἐπαύσατο τὰς προσόδους ἀποστέλλων καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν παρέδωκεν ἰδίοις ἐπιτρόποις. βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς φιλοσόφους διὰ Πλάτωνα κακοδοξίαν ἀναμάχεσθαι, πολλοὺς συνῆγε τῶν πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκούντων. φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ τῷ διαλέγεσθαι περιεῖναι πάντων, ἠναγκάζετο τοῖς Πλάτωνος παρακούσμασι κακῶς
2 χρῆσθαι. καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνον ἐπόθει, καὶ κατεγίνωσκεν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ μὴ χρησάμενος παρόντι μηδὲ διακούσας ὅσα καλῶς εἶχεν. οἷα δὲ τύραννος ἔμπληκτος ἀεὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὀξύρροπος σπουδήν, εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα, καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν αἴρων, συνέπεισε τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχύταν Πυθαγορικοὺς τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἀναδόχους γενομένους καλεῖν Πλάτωνα· δι' ἐκείνου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγόνει φιλία καὶ ξενία τὸ πρῶ-
3 τον. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν Ἀρχέδημον παρ' αὐτόν· ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Διονύσιος τριήρη καὶ φίλους δεησομένους τοῦ Πλάτωνος· αὐτός τε σαφῶς καὶ διαρρήδην ἔγραψεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο τῶν μετρίων Δίωνι μὴ πεισθέντος Πλάτωνος ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν, πεισθέντος δὲ πάντα. πολλαὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς Δίωνα παρὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπισκήψεις, δεῖσθαι Πλάτωνος ὑπακοῦσαι Διονυσίῳ καὶ μὴ πρόφασιν παρασχεῖν. οὕτω

vexed and indignant at it, and said: "Why should we blame this man? For we ourselves used to do just so in Syracuse."

XVIII. But as time went on, Dionysius became jealous of Dion and afraid of his popularity among the Greeks. He therefore stopped sending him his revenues, and handed his estate over to his own private stewards. However, with a desire to make head against the bad repute which he had also won among the philosophers on Plato's account, he assembled at his court many men with a reputation for learning. But he was ambitious to surpass them all in discussion, and was therefore driven to use inaptly what he had imperfectly learned from Plato. So he yearned once more for that philosopher, and reproached himself for not having utilized his presence to learn all that he should have learned. And since, like a tyrant, he was always extravagant in his desires and headstrong in all that he undertook, he set out at once to secure Plato, and, leaving no stone unturned, persuaded Archytas and his fellow Pythagoreans to become sureties for his agreements, and to summon Plato; for it was through Plato, in the first place, that he had entered into friendly relations with these philosophers. So they sent Archedemus to Plato, and Dionysius also sent a trireme for him, and friends to entreat his return. He also wrote to him himself in clear and express terms, saying that no mercy should be shown to Dion unless Plato were persuaded to come to Sicily; but if he were persuaded, every mercy. Dion also received many injunctions from his wife and sister, that he should beg Plato to listen to Dionysius and not afford him an excuse for further severity. Thus it

μὲν δή φησιν ὁ Πλάτων ἐλθεῖν τὸ τρίτον εἰς τὸν πορθμὸν τὸν περὶ Σκύλλαν,[1]

ὄφρ' ἔτι τὴν ὀλοὴν ἀναμετρήσειε Χάρυβδιν.

XIX. Ἐλθὼν δὲ μεγάλης μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνέπλησε χαρᾶς, μεγάλης δὲ πάλιν ἐλπίδος Σικελίαν, συνευχομένην καὶ συμφιλοτιμουμένην Πλάτωνα μὲν Φιλίστου περιγενέσθαι, φιλοσοφίαν δὲ τυραννίδος. ἦν δὲ πολλὴ μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτόν, ἐξαίρετος δὲ παρὰ τῷ Διονυσίῳ πίστις, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἄλλος εἶχεν, ἀδιερεύνητον αὐτῷ
2 πλησιάζειν. δωρεὰς δὲ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ πολλάκις τοῦ μὲν διδόντος, τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεχομένου, παρὼν Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἀσφαλῶς ἔφη μεγαλόψυχον εἶναι Διονύσιον· αὐτοῖς μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ διδόναι πλειόνων δεομένοις, Πλάτωνι δὲ πολλὰ μηδὲν λαμβάνοντι.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὰς πρώτας φιλοφροσύνας, ἀρξαμένου Πλάτωνος ἐντυγχάνειν περὶ Δίωνος, ὑπερθέσεις τὸ πρῶτον ἦσαν, εἶτα μέμψεις καὶ διαφοραὶ λανθάνουσαι τοὺς ἐκτός, ἐπικρυπτομένου Διονυσίου
καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὸν Πλάτωνα θεραπείαις καὶ 966
τιμαῖς πειρωμένου παράγειν ἀπὸ τῆς Δίωνος εὐνοίας, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἔν γε τοῖς πρώτοις χρόνοις ἀποκαλύπτοντα τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ψευδολογίαν,
4 ἀλλ' ἐγκαρτεροῦντα καὶ σχηματιζόμενον. οὕτω δὲ διακειμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ λανθάνειν

[1] Σκύλλαν as in Plato, *Epist.* vii. p. 346; Coraës retains the Σικελίαν of the MSS.

was, then, that Plato, as he himself says, "came for the third time to the straits of Scylla,

> That he might once more measure back his way to
> fell Charybdis."[1]

XIX. His arrival filled Dionysius with great joy, and the Sicilians again with great hope; they all prayed and laboured zealously that Plato might triumph over Philistus, and philosophy over tyranny. The women also were very earnest in his behalf, and Dionysius gave him a special token of his trust, which no one else had, in the privilege of coming into his presence without being searched. The tyrant offered him, too, presents of money, much money and many times, but Plato would not accept them. Whereupon Aristippus of Cyrene, who was present on one of these occasions, said that Dionysius was safely munificent; for he offered little to men like him, who wanted more, but much to Plato, who would take nothing.

After the first acts of kindness, however, Plato introduced the subject of Dion, and then there were postponements at first on the part of Dionysius, and afterwards faultfindings and disagreements. These were unnoticed by outsiders, since Dionysius tried to conceal them, and sought by the rest of his kind attentions and honourable treatment to draw Plato away from his goodwill towards Dion. And even Plato himself did not at first reveal the tyrant's perfidy and falsehood, but bore with it and dissembled his resentment. But while matters stood thus between them, and no one knew of it, as they

[1] *Odyssey*, xii. 428, with slight adaptation from the first person.

πάντας οἰομένων, Ἑλίκων ὁ Κυζικηνὸς εἷς τῶν Πλάτωνος συνήθων ἡλίου προεῖπεν ἔκλειψιν· καὶ γενομένης ὡς προεῖπε, θαυμασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου δωρεὰν ἔλαβεν ἀργυρίου τάλαντον. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ παίζων πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους ἔφη τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχειν τῶν παραδόξων προειπεῖν. ἐκείνων δὲ φράσαι δεομένων, "Προλέγω τοίνυν," εἶπεν, "ὀλίγου χρόνου Πλάτωνα καὶ Διονύσιον
5 ἐχθροὺς γενησομένους." τέλος δὲ τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν τοῦ Δίωνος ὁ Διονύσιος ἐπώλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα κατεῖχε, Πλάτωνα δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν κήπῳ διαιτώμενον εἰς τοὺς μισθοφόρους μετέστησε πάλαι μισοῦντας αὐτὸν καὶ ζητοῦντας ἀνελεῖν ὡς πείθοντα Διονύσιον ἀφεῖναι τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ζῆν ἀδορυφόρητον.

XX. Ἐν τοιούτῳ δὲ κινδύνῳ γενομένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος οἱ περὶ Ἀρχύταν πυθόμενοι ταχὺ πέμπουσι πρεσβείαν καὶ τριακόντορον, ἀπαιτοῦντες τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ Διονυσίου καὶ λέγοντες ὡς αὐτοὺς λαβὼν ἀναδόχους τῆς ἀσφαλείας πλεύσειεν εἰς Συρακούσας. ἀπολεγομένου δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου τὴν ἔχθραν ἑστιάσεσι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις
2 περὶ τὴν προπομπήν, ἓν δέ τι προαχθέντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν· "Ἦ που, Πλάτων, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορήσεις ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς συμφιλοσοφοῦντας·" ὑπομειδιάσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκρίνατο· "Μὴ τοσαύτη λόγων ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ γένοιτο σπάνις ὥστε σοῦ τινα μνημονεῦσαι." τοιαύτην μὲν τὴν ἀποστολὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· οὐ μέντοι τὰ Πλάτωνος αὐτοῦ πάνυ τούτοις συνᾴδει.

supposed, Helicon of Cyzicus, one of Plato's intimates, predicted an eclipse of the sun. This took place as he had predicted, in consequence of which he was admired by the tyrant and presented with a talent of silver. Thereupon Aristippus, jesting with the rest of the philosophers, said that he himself also could predict something strange. And when they besought him to tell what it was, "Well, then," said he, "I predict that ere long Plato and Dionysius will become enemies." At last Dionysius sold the estate of Dion and appropriated the money, and removing Plato from his lodging in the palace garden, put him in charge of his mercenaries, who had long hated the philosopher and sought to kill him, on the ground that he was trying to persuade Dionysius to renounce the tyranny and live without a bodyguard.

XX. Now when Archytas and his fellow Pythagoreans learned that Plato was in such peril, they quickly sent a galley with an embassy, demanding him from Dionysius and declaring that Plato had taken them for sureties of his safety when he sailed to Syracuse. Dionysius sought to disprove his enmity to Plato by giving banquets in his honour and making kind provisions for his journey, and went so far as to say something like this to him: "I suppose, Plato, thou wilt bring many dire accusations against me to the ears of your fellow philosophers." To this Plato answered with a smile: "Heaven forbid that there should be such a dearth of topics for discussion in the Academy that any one mention thee." Such, they say, was the dismissal of Plato; Plato's own words,[1] however, do not entirely agree with this account.

[1] *Epist.* vii. p. 349 f.

XXI. Δίων δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐχαλέπαινε, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐξεπολεμώθη παντάπασι πυθόμενος τὸ περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, περὶ οὗ καὶ Πλάτων ᾐνίξατο γράφων πρὸς Διονύσιον. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον. μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Δίωνος ἀποπέμπων Πλάτωνα Διονύσιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ δι' ἀπορρήτων πυθέσθαι, μή τι κωλύοι τὴν γυναῖκα πρὸς γάμον ἑτέρῳ
2 δοθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λόγος, εἴτ' ἀληθὴς εἴτε συντεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Δίωνα μισούντων, ὡς οὐ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὁ γάμος εἴη Δίωνι γεγονὼς οὐδ' εὐάρμοστος ἡ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συμβίωσις. ὡς οὖν ἧκεν ὁ Πλάτων Ἀθήναζε καὶ τῷ Δίωνι περὶ πάντων ἐνέτυχε, γράφει πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἐπιστολὴν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σαφῶς πᾶσιν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο μόνῳ γνώριμον ἐκείνῳ φράζουσαν, ὡς διαλεχθείη Δίωνι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνου καὶ σφόδρα δῆλος εἴη χαλεπαίνων, εἰ τοῦτο Διονύσιος ἐξεργάσαιτο.
3 καὶ τότε μὲν ἔτι πολλῶν ἐλπίδων οὐσῶν πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις οὐδὲν ἔπραξε περὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν νεώτερον, ἀλλ' εἴα μένειν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ παιδίου τοῦ Δίωνος οἰκοῦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντάπασιν ἀσυμβάτως εἶχε καὶ Πλάτων αὖθις ἐλθὼν ἀπεπέμφθη πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν, οὕτω τὴν Ἀρέτην ἄκουσαν ἑνὶ τῶν φίλων Τιμοκράτει δίδωσιν, οὐ μιμησάμενος τὴν κατά γε τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιείκειαν.

4 Ἐγεγόνει γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, κἀκείνῳ Πολύξενος ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχων αὐτοῦ Θέστην πολέμιος. ἀπο-

XXI. But Dion was vexed by all this, and shortly afterwards became altogether hostile when he learned how his wife had been treated, on which matter Plato also spoke covertly in a letter to Dionysius. The case was as follows. After the expulsion of Dion, and when Dionysius was sending Plato back,[1] he bade him learn from Dion confidentially whether he would oppose his wife's marrying another man; for there was a report, whether true or concocted by Dion's enemies, that his marriage had not proved agreeable to him, and that he did not live harmoniously with his wife. Accordingly, after Plato came to Athens and had conferred with Dion about everything, he wrote a letter to the tyrant which spoke of other matters in a way that was clear to anybody, but of this particular matter in language that could be understood by Dionysius alone, saying that he had talked with Dion about that business, and that Dion would evidently be exceedingly angry if Dionysius should carry it through.[2] Now, as long as there were many hopes of a reconciliation, the tyrant took no violent measures with his sister, but suffered her to continue living with Dion's young son; when, however, the estrangement was complete, and Plato, who had come to Sicily a second time, had been sent away in enmity, then he gave Arete in marriage, against her will, to Timocrates, one of his friends. And in this action, at least, he did not imitate the reasonableness of his father.

For the elder tyrant also, as it would appear, had a sister, Theste, whose husband, Polyxenus, had become his enemy. When, therefore, Polyxenus was

[1] For the first time; cf. chapter xvi. 3.
[2] Cf. *Epist.* xiii. p. 362 *ad fin.*

δράντος οὖν αὐτοῦ διὰ φόβον καὶ φυγόντος ἐκ
Σικελίας μεταπεμψάμενος ᾐτιᾶτο τὴν ἀδελφήν,
ὅτι συνειδυῖα τὴν φυγὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ κατεῖπε
5 πρὸς αὐτόν. ἡ δ' ἀνεκπλήκτως καὶ νὴ Δί' ἀφό-
βως· "Εἶθ' οὕτω σοι δοκῶ, Διονύσιε, φαύλη γυνὴ
γεγονέναι καὶ ἄνανδρος ὥστε προγνοῦσα τὴν
φυγὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἂν συνεκπλεῦσαι καὶ μετα-
σχεῖν τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης; ἀλλ' οὐ προέγνων· ἐπεὶ
καλῶς εἶχέ μοι μᾶλλον Πολυξένου γυναῖκα φεύ- 967
γοντος ἢ σοῦ τυραννοῦντος ἀδελφὴν λέγεσθαι."
ταῦτα τῆς Θέστης παρρησιασαμένης θαυμάσαι
6 λέγουσι τὸν τύραννον. ἐθαύμασαν δὲ καὶ οἱ
Συρακούσιοι τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γυναικός, ὥστε καὶ
μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκείνῃ τιμὴν
καὶ θεραπείαν βασιλικὴν ὑπάρχειν, ἀποθανούσης
δὲ δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν ἐπακολουθῆσαι τοὺς
πολίτας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἔχει τὴν
παρέκβασιν.

XXII. Ὁ δὲ Δίων ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τρέπεται πρὸς
πόλεμον, αὐτοῦ μὲν Πλάτωνος ἐκποδὼν ἱσταμένου
δι' αἰδῶ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον ξενίας καὶ γῆρας,
Σπευσίππου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων τῷ Δίωνι
συλλαμβανόντων καὶ παρακελευομένων ἐλευθε-
ροῦν Σικελίαν χεῖρας ὀρέγουσαν αὐτῷ καὶ προθύ-
2 μως ὑποδεχομένην. ὅτε γὰρ ἐν Συρακούσαις
Πλάτων διέτριβεν, οἱ περὶ Σπεύσιππον, ὡς ἔοικε,
μᾶλλον ἀναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατεμάν-
θανον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν παρρησίαν ὡς διάπειραν οὖσαν
ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, χρόνῳ δ' ἐπίστευσαν. ὁ γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἦν παρὰ πάντων λόγος δεομένων καὶ παρα-
κελευομένων ἐλθεῖν Δίωνα μὴ ναῦς ἔχοντα μηδ'

moved by fear to run away and go into exile from Sicily, the tyrant sent for his sister and upbraided her because she had been privy to her husband's flight and had not told her brother about it. But she, without consternation, and, indeed, without fear, replied: "Dost thou think me, Dionysius, such a mean and cowardly wife that, had I known beforehand of my husband's flight, I would not have sailed off with him and shared his fortunes? Indeed, I did not know about it; since it would have been well for me to be called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, rather than the sister of Dionysius the tyrant." The tyrant is said to have admired Theste for this bold speech. And the Syracusans also admired the virtue of the woman, so that even after the dissolution of the tyranny she retained the honours and services paid to royalty, and when she died, the citizens, by public consent, attended her funeral. This is a digression, it is true, but not a useless one.

XXII. From this time on Dion turned his thoughts to war. With this Plato himself would have nothing to do, out of respect for his tie of hospitality with Dionysius, and because of his age. But Speusippus and the rest of his companions co-operated with Dion and besought him to free Sicily, which stretched out her arms to him and eagerly awaited his coming. For when Plato was tarrying in Syracuse, Speusippus, as it would appear, mingled more with its people and learned to know their sentiments; and though at first they were afraid of his boldness of speech, thinking it a trap set for them by the tyrant, yet in time they came to trust him. For all now spoke in the same strain, begging and exhorting Dion to

ὁπλίτας μηδ' ἵππους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν εἰς ὑπηρετικὸν
ἐμβάντα χρῆσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τοὔνομα Σικελιώ-
3 ταις ἐπὶ τὸν Διονύσιον. ταῦτα τῶν περὶ Σπεύ-
σιππον ἀγγελλόντων ἐπιρρωσθεὶς ἐξενολόγει
κρύφα καὶ δι' ἑτέρων ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὴν διά-
νοιαν. συνέπραττον δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλοὶ
καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὅ τε Κύπριος Εὔδημος, εἰς ὃν
Ἀριστοτέλης ἀποθανόντα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς διά-
4 λογον ἐποίησε, καὶ Τιμωνίδης ὁ Λευκάδιος. συν-
έστησαν δὲ καὶ Μίλταν αὐτῷ τὸν Θεσσαλόν,
ἄνδρα μάντιν καὶ μετεσχηκότα τῆς ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ
διατριβῆς. τῶν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου πεφυγαδευ-
μένων, οὐ μεῖον ἢ χιλίων ὄντων, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
μόνοι τῆς στρατείας ἐκοινώνησαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
5 προὔδοσαν ἀποδειλιάσαντες. ὁρμητήριον δ' ἦν
ἡ Ζακυνθίων νῆσος, εἰς ἣν οἱ στρατιῶται συνελ-
έγησαν ὀκτακοσίων ἐλάττους γενόμενοι, γνώριμοι
δὲ πάντες ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων στρατειῶν, καὶ
τοῖς σώμασιν ἠσκημένοι διαφερόντως, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ
καὶ τόλμῃ πολὺ πάντων κράτιστοι, καὶ δυνάμενοι
πλῆθος ὅσον ἤλπιζεν ἕξειν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Δίων ὑπεκ-
καῦσαι καὶ συνεξορμῆσαι πρὸς ἀλκήν.

XXIII. Οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀκούσαντες ἐπὶ
Διονύσιον καὶ Σικελίαν αἴρεσθαι τὸν στόλον,
ἐξεπλάγησαν καὶ κατέγνωσαν, ὡς ὀργῆς τινος
παραφροσύνῃ καὶ μανίᾳ τοῦ Δίωνος ἢ χρηστῶν
ἐλπίδων ἀπορίᾳ ῥιπτοῦντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀπεγνωσ-
μένας πράξεις· καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἡγεμόσι καὶ
ξενολόγοις ὠργίζοντο μὴ προειποῦσιν εὐθὺς ἐξ
2 ἀρχῆς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δίων τῷ λόγῳ τὰ
σαθρὰ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπεξιὼν ἐδίδασκεν, ὡς οὐ

come without ships, men-at-arms, or horses; he was simply to come himself in a small boat, and lend the Sicilians his person and his name against Dionysius. Encouraged by this information from Speusippus, Dion collected mercenaries secretly and by the agency of others, concealing his purpose. He was assisted also by many statesmen and philosophers, such as Eudemus the Cyprian, on whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue "On the Soul," and Timonides the Leucadian Furthermore, they enlisted on his side Miltas the Thessalian also, who was a seer and had studied in the Academy. But of those who had been banished by the tyrant, and there were not less than a thousand of them, only twenty-five took part in the expedition; the rest played the coward and abandoned it. The rendezvous was the island of Zacynthus, and here the soldiers were assembled. They numbered fewer than eight hundred, but they were all well known in consequence of many great campaigns, their bodies were exceptionally well trained, while in experience and daring they had no equals in the world, and were capable of inciting and inflaming to share their prowess all the host which Dion expected to have in Sicily.

XXIII. At first, indeed, when these men heard that their expedition was directed against Dionysius and Sicily, they were full of consternation and denounced the enterprise, declaring that Dion, in a mad frenzy of anger, or in despair, was plunging into desperate undertakings; they were also enraged at their own leaders and recruiting officers for not having told them at the very outset about the war. But when Dion addressed them, setting forth in detail the unsound condition of the tyranny, and

στρατιώτας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς κομί-
ζοι Συρακουσίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σικελιωτῶν
πάλαι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἑτοίμων ὑπαρχόντων,
μετὰ δὲ τὸν Δίωνα διαλεχθέντος αὐτοῖς Ἀλκι-
μένους, ὃς πρῶτος ὢν Ἀχαιῶν δόξῃ καὶ γένει
συνεστράτευεν, ἐπείσθησαν.
3 Ἦν μὲν οὖν θέρους ἀκμὴ καὶ κατεῖχον ἐτησίαι
τὸ πέλαγος, ἡ δὲ σελήνη διχομηνίαν ἦγε. τῷ δ'
Ἀπόλλωνι θυσίαν μεγαλοπρεπῆ παρασκευάσας ὁ
Δίων ἐπόμπευσε μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεκοσμη-
μένων ταῖς πανοπλίαις πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ μετὰ
τὴν θυσίαν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ τῶν Ζακυνθίων κατα-
4 κλιθέντας αὐτοὺς εἱστία, θαυμάζοντας ἀργυρῶν
καὶ χρυσῶν ἐκπωμάτων καὶ τραπεζῶν ὑπερβάλ-
λουσαν ἰδιωτικὸν πλοῦτον λαμπρότητα, καὶ λο-
γιζομένους ὅτι παρηκμακὼς ἀνὴρ ἤδη καὶ τοσαύ-
της εὐπορίας κύριος οὐκ ἂν ἐπιχειροίη παραβόλοις 968
πράγμασι χωρὶς ἐλπίδος βεβαίου καὶ φίλων
ἐνδιδόντων ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῷ τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγί-
στας ἀφορμάς.
XXIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὰς νενομισ-
μένας κατευχὰς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σελήνη. καὶ τοῖς
μὲν περὶ τὸν Δίωνα θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἦν λογιζο-
μένοις τὰς ἐκλειπτικὰς περιόδους καὶ τὴν γινο-
μένην τοῦ σκιάσματος ἀπάντησιν πρὸς τὴν
σελήνην καὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν ἀντίφραξιν πρὸς τὸν
2 ἥλιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις διαταραχθεῖσιν
ἔδει τινὸς παρηγορίας, Μίλτας ὁ μάντις ἐν μέσῳ
καταστὰς ἐκέλευε θαρρεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ προσδοκᾶν

declaring that he was taking them, not as soldiers, but as commanders of the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilians, who had long been ready for a revolt; and when, after Dion, Alcimenes, who was an Achaean of the highest birth and reputation and a member of the expedition, had argued with them, they were persuaded.

It was now midsummer,[1] the Etesian winds[2] prevailed at sea, and the moon was at the full. Dion had prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and marched in solemn procession to the temple with his soldiers, who were arrayed in full armour. After the sacrifice, he gave them a banquet in the stadium of the Zacynthians, where, as they reclined on their couches, they wondered at the splendour of the gold and silver beakers, and of the tables, for it passed the limits set by a private man's fortune; they reasoned, too, that a man who was already past his prime and was master of such great affluence, would not engage in hazardous enterprises unless he had solid hopes of success, and friends over there who offered him unbounded resources.

XXIV. But after the libations and the customary prayers, the moon was eclipsed. Now, to Dion this was nothing astonishing, for he knew that eclipses recurred at regular intervals, and that the shadow projected on the moon was caused by the interposition of the earth between her and the sun. But since the soldiers, who were greatly disturbed, needed some encouragement, Miltas the seer stood up amongst them and bade them be of good cheer,

[1] 357 B.C.

[2] Winds blowing steadily from the North during the summer.

τὰ κράτιστα· σημαίνειν γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἔκλειψίν τινος τῶν νῦν ἐπιφανῶν· ἐπιφανέστερον δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῆς Διονυσίου τυραννίδος, ἧς τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀποσβέσειν ἐκείνους εὐθὺς ἁψαμένους
3 Σικελίας. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Μίλτας εἰς μέσον ἐξέθηκε πᾶσι· τὸ δὲ τῶν μελισσῶν, αἳ περὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῦ Δίωνος ὤφθησαν ἑσμὸν λαμβάνουσαι κατὰ πρύμναν, ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔφραζε δεδιέναι μὴ καλαὶ μὲν αἱ πράξεις αὐτοῦ γένωνται, χρόνον δ' ὀλίγον ἀνθήσασαι μαρανθῶσι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῷ Διονυσίῳ πολλὰ τερατώδη
4 παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου γενέσθαι σημεῖα. ἀετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἁρπάσας δοράτιόν τινος τῶν δορυφόρων ἀράμενος ὑψοῦ καὶ φέρων ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸν βυθόν· ἡ δὲ προσκλύζουσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θάλασσα μίαν ἡμέραν τὸ ὕδωρ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον παρέσχεν, ὥστε γευσαμένοις πᾶσι κατάδηλον εἶναι. χοῖροι δ' ἐτέχθησαν αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ἐνδεεῖς μορίων, ὦτα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες.
5 ἀπεφαίνοντο δ' οἱ μάντεις τοῦτο μὲν ἀποστάσεως καὶ ἀπειθείας εἶναι σημεῖον, ὡς οὐκέτι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκουσομένων τῆς τυραννίδος, τὴν δὲ γλυκύτητα τῆς θαλάσσης μεταβολὴν καιρῶν ἀνιαρῶν καὶ πονηρῶν εἰς πράγματα χρηστὰ φέρειν Συρακουσίοις. ἀετὸς δὲ θεράπων Διός, λόγχη δὲ παράσημον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας· ἀφανισμὸν οὖν καὶ κατάλυσιν τῇ τυραννίδι βουλεύειν τὸν τῶν θεῶν μέγιστον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Θεόπομπος ἱστόρηκε.

XXV. Τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τοὺς Δίωνος ἐξεδέξαντο στρογγύλαι δύο ναῦς, τρίτον δὲ πλοῖον οὐ μέγα καὶ δύο τριακόντοροι παρηκολούθουν. ὅπλα

and expect the best results; for the divine powers indicated an eclipse of something that was now resplendent; but nothing was more resplendent than the tyranny of Dionysius, and it was the radiance of this which they would extinguish as soon as they reached Sicily. This interpretation, then, Miltas made public for all to know; but that of the bees, which were seen settling in swarms upon the sterns of Dion's transports, he told privately to him and his friends, expressing a fear that his undertakings would thrive at the outset, but after a short season of flowering would wither away. It is said that Dionysius also had many portentous signs from Heaven. An eagle snatched a lance from one of his body-guards, carried it aloft, and then let it drop into the sea. Furthermore, the water of the sea which washed the base of the acropolis was sweet and potable for a whole day, as all who tasted it could see. Again, pigs were littered for him which were perfect in their other parts, but had no ears. This the seers declared to be a sign of disobedience and rebellion, since, as they said, the citizens would no longer listen to the commands of the tyrant; the sweetness of the sea-water indicated for the Syracusans a change from grievous and oppressive times to comfortable circumstances; an eagle, moreover, was servant of Zeus, and a spear, an emblem of authority and power, wherefore this prodigy showed that the greatest of the gods desired the utter dissolution of the tyranny. Such, at all events, is the account which Theopompus has given.

XXV. The soldiers of Dion filled two merchant-ships, and a third transport of small size, together with two thirty-oared galleys, accompanied these.

δέ, χωρὶς ὧν εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται, δισχιλίας μὲν ἐκόμιζεν ἀσπίδας, βέλη δὲ καὶ δόρατα πολλά, καὶ πλῆθος ἐφοδίων ἄφθονον, ὅπως ἐπιλίπῃ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ποντοποροῦντας, ἅτε δὴ τὸ σύμπαν ἐπὶ πνεύμασι καὶ θαλάσσῃ πεποιημένους τὸν πλοῦν διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι Φίλιστον ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ ναυλοχοῦντα παραφυλάτ-
2 τειν. ἀραιῷ δὲ καὶ μαλακῷ πνεύματι πλεύσαντες ἡμέρας δώδεκα, τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ Πάχυνον ἦσαν, ἄκραν τῆς Σικελίας. καὶ Πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κυβερνήτης κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποβαίνειν, ὡς, ἂν ἀποσπασθῶσι τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἑκόντες ἀφῶσι, πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἐν τῷ πελάγει τριβησομένους, ὥρᾳ θέρους νότον περιμένοντας. Δίων δὲ τὴν ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπόβασιν δεδιὼς καὶ τῶν πρόσω μᾶλλον ἅψασθαι
3 βουλόμενος παρέπλευσε τὸν Πάχυνον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τραχὺς μὲν ἀπαρκτίας ἐπιπεσὼν ἤλαυνε πολλῷ κλύδωνι τὰς ναῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας, ἀστραπαὶ δὲ καὶ βρονταὶ φανέντος Ἀρκτούρου συμπεσοῦσαι πολὺν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ χειμῶνα καὶ ῥαγδαῖον ὄμβρον ἐξέχεαν· ᾧ τῶν ναυτῶν συνταραχθέντων καὶ πλάνης γενομένης καθορῶσιν αἰφνίδιον ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος ὠθουμένας τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Λιβύῃ Κέρκιναν, ᾗ μάλιστα κρημνώδης ἀπήντα καὶ τραχεῖα προσφερομένοις αὐ-
4 τοῖς ἡ νῆσος. μικρὸν οὖν δεήσαντες ἐκριφῆναι καὶ συντριβῆναι περὶ τὰς πέτρας ἐβιάζοντο πρὸς κοντὸν παραφερόμενοι μόλις, ἕως ὁ χειμὼν ἐλώ-

Moreover, besides the arms which his soldiers had, Dion carried two thousand shields, missiles and spears in great numbers, and a boundless store of provisions, that they might suffer no lack as they traversed the high sea. For they put themselves entirely at the mercy of winds and sea during their voyage, because they were afraid of the coast, and learned that Philistus was watching for them with a fleet at Iapygia. After sailing with a light and gentle breeze for twelve days, on the thirteenth they reached Pachynus, a headland of Sicily. Here Protus their pilot urged them to disembark with all speed, since, if they should be forced away from the shore, and should relinquish the headland which they had gained, they would be tossed about on the high sea for many days and nights, awaiting a south wind in the summer season. But Dion, fearing to disembark near the enemy, and wishing to land farther along the coast, sailed past Pachynus. Thereupon a boisterous wind from the north rushed down upon them, raised a great sea, and drove the ships away from Sicily, while flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, now that Arcturus was just rising, conspired to pour down from the heavens a great storm of furious rain. The sailors were confounded by this and driven from their course, until on a sudden they saw that their ships were driving with the sea upon Cercina, off the coast of Africa, at a point where the island presented the roughest and most precipitous shore for their approach. Accordingly, after a narrow escape from being cast ashore and dashed to pieces on the rocks, they plied their punting-poles and forced their way along with great difficulty, until

φησε καὶ πλοίῳ συντυχόντες ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς καλουμέναις κεφαλαῖς τῆς μεγάλης Σύρτεως 969
ὄντες. ἀθυμοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν γαλήνην καὶ διαφερομένοις αὔραν τινὰ κατέσπειρεν ἡ χώρα νότιον, οὐ πάνυ προσδεχομένοις νότον οὐδὲ
5 πιστεύουσι τῇ μεταβολῇ. κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ ῥωννυμένου τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ μέγεθος λαμβάνοντος ἐκτείναντες ὅσον ἦν ἱστίων, καὶ προσευξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, πελάγιοι πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν ἔφευγον ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης· καὶ θέοντες ἐλαφρῶς πεμπταῖοι κατὰ Μίνῳαν ὡρμίσαντο, πολισμάτιον ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐπικρατείας. ἔτυχε δὲ παρὼν ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἄρχων Σύναλος ἐν τῷ
6 χωρίῳ, ξένος ὢν καὶ φίλος Δίωνος. ἀγνοῶν δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν στόλον, ἐπειρᾶτο κωλύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποβαίνοντας. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκδραμόντες ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδένα, ἀπειρήκει γὰρ ὁ Δίων διὰ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, φεύγουσι δὲ συνεισπεσόντες αἱροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὡς δ' ἀπήντησαν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ ἠσπάσαντο, Δίων μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Συνάλῳ, οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας, Σύναλος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξένιζε καὶ συμπαρεσκεύαζεν ὧν Δίων ἐδεῖτο.

XXVI. Μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐθάρρυνε τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτομάτως περὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ Διονυσίου· νεωστὶ γὰρ ἐκπεπλευκὼς ἐτύγχανεν ὀγδοήκοντα ναυσὶν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. διὸ καὶ τοῦ Δίωνος παρακαλοῦντος ἐνταῦθα τοὺς στρατιώτας

the storm abated, when they learned from a vessel which they spoke that they were at what were called the Heads of the Great Syrtis. And now they were disheartened by the calm in which they found themselves, and were drifting up and down, when a gentle southerly breeze was wafted to them from the land, although they were by no means expecting a south wind and could not believe in the change. Little by little, however, the wind freshened and grew strong, so that they spread all the sail they had, and praying to the gods, fled over the sea from Africa towards Sicily. For five days they ran swiftly on, and came to anchor at Minoa, a little town in that part of Sicily which the Carthaginians controlled. Now, it chanced that Synalus, the Carthaginian commander, was in the place, and he was a guest-friend of Dion's. But not knowing of Dion's presence or of his expedition, he tried to prevent his soldiers from landing. These, however, rushed on shore with their arms, and although they killed no one, since Dion had forbidden it because of his friendship with the Carthaginian, they put their opponents to flight, dashed into the place with the fugitives, and captured it. But as soon as the two commanders had met and greeted one another, Dion restored the city to Synalus, without doing it any harm, and Synalus entertained the soldiers and supplied Dion with what he wanted.

XXVI. But what most of all encouraged them was the accidental absence of Dionysius from Syracuse; for it chanced that he had recently sailed with eighty ships to Italy. Therefore, even though Dion urged his soldiers to recruit themselves here

ἀναλαμβάνειν πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κεκακωμένους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν αὐτοὶ σπεύδοντες ἁρπάσαι τὸν καιρόν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν
2 Δίωνα πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας. ἀποσκευασάμενος οὖν τὰ περιόντα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν φορτίων ἐκεῖ, καὶ τοῦ Συνάλου δεηθείς, ὅταν ᾖ καιρός, ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀκραγαντίνων προσεχώρησαν ἱππεῖς διακόσιοι τῶν περὶ τὸ Ἔκνομον οἰκούντων, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Γελῷοι.

3 Ταχὺ δὲ τῆς φήμης διαδραμούσης εἰς Συρακούσας Τιμοκράτης, ὁ τῇ Δίωνος γυναικὶ συνοικῶν, Διονυσίου δ' ἀδελφῇ, τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῇ πόλει φίλων προεστώς, ἐκπέμπει κατὰ τάχος ἄγγελον τῷ Διονυσίῳ γράμματα κομίζοντα περὶ τῆς Δίωνος ἀφίξεως. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν προσεῖχε θορύβοις καὶ κινήμασιν, ἐπηρμένων μὲν πάντων, διὰ δ' ἀπιστίαν ἔτι καὶ φόβον ἡσυχαζόντων. τῷ δὲ πεμφθέντι γραμματοφόρῳ
4 τύχη τις συμπίπτει παράλογος. διαπλεύσας γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥηγίνην διελθών, ἐπειγόμενος εἰς Καυλωνίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον ἀπήντησέ τινι τῶν συνήθων ἱερεῖον νεωστὶ τεθυμένον κομίζοντι· καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ μοῖραν τῶν κρεῶν ἐχώρει σπουδῇ. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς μέρος ὁδεύσας καὶ μικρὸν ἀποδαρθεῖν ὑπὸ κόπου βιασθείς, ὡς εἶχε, παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ὕλῃ τινὶ
5 κατέκλινεν ἑαυτόν. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὀσμὴν λύκος ἐπελθών, καὶ λαβόμενος τῶν κρεῶν ἀναδεδεμένων ἐκ τῆς πήρας, ᾤχετο φέρων ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν πήραν, ἐν ᾗ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν.

after their long hardships on the sea, they would not consent to it, so eager were they of themselves to seize their opportunity, but urged him to lead them towards Syracuse. Accordingly, he deposited his superfluous arms and baggage there, asked Synalus to send them to him as opportunity offered, and marched against Syracuse. As he was on his way thither, first he was joined by two hundred horsemen belonging to the Agrigentines who dwelt about Ecnomum, and then by men of Gela.

But the report of his doings quickly flew to Syracuse, where Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, and who stood at the head of the tyrant's friends now left in the city, speedily sent off a messenger to Dionysius with letters announcing the arrival of Dion. He himself, moreover, took steps to prevent any disturbances or tumults in the city, where all were greatly excited, but as yet kept quiet owing to their distrust and fear. But a strange misfortune befell the man who had been sent with the letters. After he had crossed to Italy and passed through the territory of Rhegium, and as he was hastening on to Dionysius at Caulonia, he met one of his acquaintances who was carrying an animal that had been recently sacrificed, and after accepting from him a portion of the flesh, went on his way with all speed. But after travelling part of the night, he was compelled by weariness to take a little sleep, and lay down, just as he was, in a wood by the side of the road. Then a wolf came to the spot, attracted by the scent, and seizing the flesh which had been fastened to the wallet in which the man had his letters, went off with it and the wallet

ὡς δὲ διεγερθεὶς ᾔσθετο καὶ πολλὰ μάτην πλανηθεὶς καὶ διώξας οὐχ εὗρεν, ἔγνω μὴ πορεύεσθαι δίχα τῶν γραμμάτων πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, ἀλλ' ἀποδρὰς ἐκποδὼν γενέσθαι.

XXVII. *Διονύσιος μὲν οὖν ὀψὲ καὶ παρ' ἑτέρων ἔμελλε πυνθάνεσθαι τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεμον, Δίωνι δὲ πορευομένῳ Καμαριναῖοί τε προσέθεντο καὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγροὺς Συρακουσίων ἀνισταμένων ἐπέρρει πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον. οἱ δὲ μετὰ Τιμοκράτους τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς φυλάσσοντες Λεοντῖνοι καὶ Καμπανοί, λόγον ψευδῆ προσπέμψαντος εἰς
αὐτοὺς τοῦ Δίωνος ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις πρῶτον* 970
τρέποιτο τὰς ἐκείνων, ἀπολιπόντες ᾤχοντο τὸν
2 *Τιμοκράτην τοῖς οἰκείοις βοηθήσοντες. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα περὶ τὰς Ἄκρας στρατοπεδεύοντα, νυκτὸς ἔτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναστήσας πρὸς τὸν Ἄναπον ποταμὸν ἧκεν, ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως δέκα σταδίους. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας ἐσφαγιάζετο πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν, ἀνατέλλοντι τῷ ἡλίῳ προσευξάμενος· ἅμα δ' οἱ μάντεις παρὰ τῶν θεῶν νίκην ἔφραζον αὐτῷ. καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Δίωνα διὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐστεφανωμένον οἱ παρόντες ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὁρμῆς ἐστε-*
3 *φανοῦντο πάντες. ἦσαν δὲ πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους προσγεγονότες κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· ὡπλισμένοι δὲ φαύλως ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος ἀνεπλήρουν τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὴν τῆς παρασκευῆς ἔνδειαν, ὥστε κινήσαντος τοῦ Δίωνος δρόμῳ χωρεῖν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλους παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.*

too. When the man awoke and perceived what had happened, he wandered about a long time in search of what he had lost, but could not find it, and therefore determined not to go to the tyrant without the letters, but to run away and disappear.

XXVII. Dionysius, therefore, was destined to learn of the war in Sicily late and from other sources; but meanwhile, as Dion proceeded on his march, he was joined by the Camarinaeans, and no small multitude of the rural Syracusans revolted and swelled his ranks. Moreover, the Leontines and Campanians who were guarding Epipolae[1] with Timocrates, in consequence of a false report which Dion sent to them that he would attack their cities first, deserted Timocrates and went off to assist their own peoples. When news of this was brought to Dion as he lay encamped near Acrae, he roused up his soldiers while it was still night and came to the river Anapus, which is ten furlongs distant from the city. There he halted and sacrificed by the river, addressing his prayers to the rising sun, and on the instant the soothsayers declared that the gods promised him victory. When, too, the audience beheld Dion with a wreath on his head for the sacrifice, with one impulse they all crowned themselves with wreaths. No fewer than five thousand men had joined him on the march, and though they were wretchedly armed with such weapons as came to hand, their enthusiasm made up for their lack of equipment, so that when Dion gave the word they advanced on the run, exhorting one another with joyful shouts to win their liberty.

[1] The plateau west of the city of Syracuse. See the note on *Nicias*, xvii. 1.

XXVIII. Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει Συρακουσίων οἱ μὲν γνώριμοι καὶ χαρίεντες ἐσθῆτα καθαρὰν ἔχοντες ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τοῖς τυράννου φίλοις ἐπετίθεντο καὶ συνήρπαζον τοὺς καλουμένους προσαγωγίδας, ἀνθρώπους ἀνοσίους καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρούς, οἳ περιενόστουν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Συρακουσίοις πολυπραγμονοῦντες καὶ διαγγέλλοντες τῷ τυράννῳ τάς
2 τε διανοίας καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἑκάστων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι δίκην ἐδίδοσαν ὑπὸ τῶν προστυγχανόντων ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι· Τιμοκράτης δὲ συμμῖξαι τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἵππον λαβὼν διεξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ πάντα φεύγων ἐνέπλησε φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς, ἐπὶ μεῖζον αἴρων τὰ τοῦ Δίωνος, ὡς μὴ δοκοίη μέτριόν
3 τι δείσας ἀποβεβληκέναι τὴν πόλιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Δίων προσερχόμενος ἤδη καταφανὴς ἦν, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὡπλισμένος λαμπρῶς, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔνθεν μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Μεγακλῆς, ἔνθεν δὲ Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐστεφανωμένοι. τῶν δὲ ξένων ἑκατὸν μὲν εἵποντο φύλακες περὶ τὸν Δίωνα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἦγον οἱ λοχαγοὶ διακεκοσμημένους, θεωμένων τῶν Συρακουσίων καὶ δεχομένων ὥσπερ ἱεράν τινα καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πομπὴν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δημοκρατίας δι' ἐτῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τετταράκοντα κατιούσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

XXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Δίων κατὰ τὰς Τεμενίτιδας πύλας, τῇ σάλπιγγι καταπαύσας τὸν θόρυβον, ἐκήρυξεν ὅτι Δίων καὶ Μεγακλῆς ἥκοντες ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς τυραννίδος ἐλευθεροῦσι Συρακουσίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Σικελιώτας ἀπὸ τοῦ τυράννου. βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ δι'

XXVIII. As for the Syracusans in the city, the men of note and cultivation, in fresh apparel, went to meet them at the gates, while the multitude set upon the tyrant's friends and seized those called tale-bearers, wicked men whom the gods hated, who went up and down in the city busily mingling with the Syracusans and reporting to the tyrant the sentiments and utterances of every one. These, then, were the first to suffer retribution, being beaten to death by those who came upon them; but Timocrates, unable to join the garrison of the acropolis, took horse and dashed out of the city, and as he fled, filled everything with fear and confusion, exaggerating the strength of Dion, that he might not be thought to have abandoned the city through fear of any trivial danger. Meanwhile Dion drew near the city and was presently seen, leading the way himself in brilliant armour, with his brother Megacles on one side of him, and on the other, Callippus the Athenian, both crowned with garlands. A hundred of his mercenaries followed Dion as a body-guard, and his officers led the rest in good order, the Syracusans looking on and welcoming as it were a sacred religious procession for the return of liberty and democracy into the city, after an absence of forty-eight years.

XXIX. After Dion had entered the city by the Temenitid gate, he stopped the noise of the people by a blast of the trumpet, and made proclamation that Dion and Megacles, who were come to overthrow the tyranny, declared the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilians free from the tyrant. Then,

ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεῦσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνῄει διὰ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς, ἑκατέρωθεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν Συρακουσίων ἱερεῖα καὶ τραπέζας καὶ κρατῆρας ἱστάντων, καὶ καθ' οὓς γένοιτο προχύταις τε βαλλόντων καὶ προστρεπομένων ὥσπερ θεὸν
2 κατευχαῖς. ἦν δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ πεντάπυλα, Διονυσίου κατασκευάσαντος, ἡλιοτρόπιον καταφανὲς καὶ ὑψηλόν. ἐπὶ τοῦτο προβὰς ἐδημηγόρησε καὶ παρώρμησε τοὺς πολίτας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας. οἱ δὲ χαίροντες καὶ φιλοφρονούμενοι κατέστησαν ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοκράτορας στρατηγούς, καὶ προσείλοντο, βουλομένων καὶ δεομένων ἐκείνων, αὐτοῖς συνάρχοντας εἴκοσιν, ὧν ἡμίσεις ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν μετὰ Δίωνος ἀπὸ
3 τῆς φυγῆς συγκατερχομένων. τοῖς δὲ μάντεσιν αὖθις ἐδόκει τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ πόδας λαβεῖν τὸν Δίωνα δημηγοροῦντα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦ τυράννου λαμπρὸν εἶναι σημεῖον· ὅτι δ' ἡλιοτρόπιον ἦν ἐφ' οὗ βεβηκὼς ᾑρέθη στρατηγός, ὠρρώδουν μὴ τροπήν τινα τῆς τύχης αἱ πράξεις ταχεῖαν λάβωσιν. ἐκ τούτου τὰς μὲν Ἐπιπολὰς ἑλὼν τοὺς καθειργμένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλυσε,
4 τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἀπετείχισεν. ἑβδόμῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ 971
Διονύσιος κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ Δίωνι προσῆγον ἅμαξαι πανοπλίας ἃς Συνάλῳ κατέλιπε. ταύτας διένειμε τοῖς πολίταις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἑαυτόν, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν, ἐκόσμει καὶ παρεῖχεν ὁπλίτην πρόθυμον.

XXX. Διονύσιος δὲ πρῶτον ἰδίᾳ πρὸς Δίωνα πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ἀποπειρώμενος· ἔπειτα κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου διαλέγεσθαι κοινῇ Συρακουσίοις

wishing to harangue the people himself, he went up through the Achradina,[1] while on either side of the street the Syracusans set out tables and sacrificial meats and mixing-bowls, and all, as he came to them, pelted him with flowers, and addressed him with vows and prayers as if he were a god. Now, there stood below the acropolis and the Pentapyla a tall and conspicuous sun-dial, which Dionysius had set up. Mounted upon this, Dion harangued the citizens and exhorted them to assert their liberty. And they, in their joy and affection, made Dion and Megacles generals with absolute powers, and besides, at their wish and entreaty, chose twenty colleagues to hold office with them, half of whom were of those who had come back from exile with Dion. To the soothsayers, moreover, it seemed a most happy omen, that Dion, when he harangued the people, had put under his feet the ambitious monument of the tyrant; but because it was a sun-dial upon which he stood when he was elected general, they feared that his enterprise might undergo some speedy change of fortune. After this, Dion captured Epipolae and set free the citizens who were imprisoned there; then he walled off the acropolis. On the seventh day Dionysius put in with his fleet and entered the acropolis, and waggons brought Dion the armour and weapons which he had left with Synalus. These he distributed among the citizens as far as they would go, and all the rest equipped themselves as best they could and zealously offered their services as men-at-arms.

XXX. At first, Dionysius sent envoys privately to Dion and tried to make terms with him; then, when Dion bade him confer publicly with the Syracusans,

[1] An extension of the city, covering the eastern part of the plateau of Epipolae.

ὡς ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν, ἐγένοντο λόγοι διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου φιλάνθρωποι, φόρων ὑπισχνουμένου μετριότητα καὶ ῥᾳστώνην στρατειῶν, ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ σύμψηφοι γένωνται.
2 ταῦτα ἐχλεύαζον οἱ Συρακούσιοι. Δίων δ' ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς πρέσβεσι μὴ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Διονύσιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφίησιν· ἀφέντι δὲ συμπράξειν ἄδειαν αὐτός, κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν μετρίων δύνηται, μεμνημένος τῆς οἰκειότητος. ταῦτα Διονύσιος ἐπῄνει, καὶ πάλιν ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις κελεύων ἥκειν τινὰς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Συρακουσίων, οἷς τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ πειθόμενος·
3 διαλέξεται περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων. ἐπέμφθησαν οὖν ἄνδρες πρὸς αὐτὸν οὓς Δίων ἐδοκίμασε. καὶ λόγος πολὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τοὺς Συρακουσίους κατῄει Διονύσιον ἀφήσειν τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσεσθαι[1] χάριν ἢ Δίωνος.

Ἦν δὲ δόλος ἡ προσποίησις αὕτη τοῦ τυράννου καὶ σκευωρία κατὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐλθόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως συγκλείσας εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους πρὸς ὄρθρον ἐμπλήσας ἀκράτου δρόμῳ πρὸς τὸ περιτεί-
4 χισμα τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐφῆκε· γενομένης δὲ τῆς προσβολῆς ἀνελπίστου καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων θράσει πολλῷ καὶ θορύβῳ καθαιρούντων τὸ διατείχισμα καὶ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἐπιφερομένων, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα μένων ἀμύνεσθαι, πλὴν τῶν ξένων τῶν Δίωνος, οἳ πρῶτον αἰσθόμενοι τὸν θόρυβον
5 ἐξεβοήθησαν. οὐδ' οὗτοι δὲ τῆς βοηθείας τὸν

[1] ποιήσεσθαι a correction by Sintenis of the MSS. ποιήσασθαι, which Coraës omits and Bekker brackets.

on the ground that they were a free people, the envoys brought generous propositions from the tyrant, who promised such moderate taxes and easy military service as the people themselves should agree to by vote. These offers were derided by the Syracusans, and Dion made answer to the envoys that Dionysius was not to confer with them unless he renounced his sovereignty; but on his renouncing this, Dion would himself procure immunity for him, and any other reasonable privilege that was in his power, mindful of the close relationship between them. These conditions Dionysius approved, and again sent envoys, bidding some of the Syracusans to come to the acropolis, where, both parties making concessions, he would confer with them concerning the common good. Accordingly, men were sent to him whom Dion approved. And frequent reports came to the Syracusans from the citadel that Dionysius would renounce the tyranny, and would do this to please himself rather than Dion.

But this was a treacherous pretence on the part of the tyrant, and a piece of knavery directed against the Syracusans. For he kept in close custody the deputation that came to him from the city, and towards morning plied his mercenaries with strong wine and sent them on a dash against the siege-wall about the acropolis. The attack was unexpected, and the Barbarians, with great boldness and loud tumult, began to tear down the cross-wall and attack the Syracusans, so that no one dared to stand on the defensive, except the mercenaries of Dion, who first noticed the disturbance and came to the rescue. And even these

τρόπον συνεφρόνουν οὐδ' εἰσήκουον ὑπὸ κραυγῆς καὶ πλάνης τῶν φευγόντων Συρακουσίων ἀναπεφυρμένων αὐτοῖς καὶ διεκθεόντων, πρίν γε δὴ Δίων, ἐπεὶ λέγοντος οὐδεὶς κατήκουεν, ἔργῳ τὸ πρακτέον ὑφηγήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἐμβάλλει
6 πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους. καὶ γίνεται περὶ αὐτὸν ὀξεῖα καὶ δεινὴ μάχη, γινωσκόμενον οὐχ ἧττον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τῶν φίλων· ὥρμησαν γὰρ ἅμα πάντες ἐμβοήσαντες. ὁ δ' ἦν μὲν ἤδη βαρύτερος δι' ἡλικίαν ἢ κατὰ τοιούτους ἀγῶνας, ἀλκῇ δὲ καὶ θυμῷ τοὺς[1] προσφερομένους ὑφιστάμενος καὶ ἀνακόπτων τιτρώσκεται λόγχῃ τὴν χεῖρα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα βέλη καὶ τὰς ἐκ χειρὸς πληγὰς μόλις ὁ θώραξ ἤρκεσε διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος δόρασι πολλοῖς καὶ λόγχαις τυπτόμενος· ὧν
7 κατακλασθέντων κατέπεσεν ὁ Δίων. εἶτα ἀναρπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκείνοις μὲν ἡγεμόνα Τιμωνίδην ἐπέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἵππῳ περιελαύνων τούς τε Συρακουσίους ἔπαυε φυγῆς, καὶ τῶν ξένων τοὺς φυλάττοντας τὴν Ἀχραδινὴν ἀναστήσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀκμῆτας ἐκπεπονημένοις καὶ προθύμους ἀπαυδῶ-
8 σιν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν πεῖραν. ἐλπίσαντες γὰρ ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ ῥύμῃ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καθέξειν, εἶτα παρὰ δόξαν ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀνδράσι πλήκταις καὶ μαχίμοις ἀνεστέλλοντο πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπικειμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τραπόμενοι κατεκλείσθησαν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἑβδομήκοντα μὲν καὶ τέσσαρας ἀποκτείναντες τῶν μετὰ Δίωνος, ἑαυτῶν δὲ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες.

[1] τοὺς the article is suggested by Sintenis.

knew not how to render aid, nor could they hear what was said to them, owing to the shouts and wild movements of the fugitive Syracusans, who mingled confusedly with them and broke through their ranks. But at last Dion, since no one could hear his orders, wishing to show by his example what should be done, charged foremost into the Barbarians. Then there arose about him a fierce and dreadful battle, since he was recognized by the enemy as well as by his friends, and all rushed towards him at the same time with loud shouts. He was now, by reason of his age, too unwieldy for such struggles, but he withstood and cut down his assailants with vigour and courage until he was wounded in the hand with a lance; besides, his breastplate hardly sufficed to resist the other missiles and hand-to-hand thrusts, and he was smitten through his shield by many spears and lances, and when these were broken off he fell to the ground. Then, after he had been snatched away by his soldiers, he put Timonides in command of these, while he himself, mounting a horse, rode about the city rallying the flying Syracusans, and bringing up a detachment of his mercenaries who were guarding Achradina, led them against the Barbarians,—fresh and eager reserves against a worn-out foe, and one that already despaired of his cause. For they had expected at their first onset to overrun and occupy the whole city, and now that they had unexpectedly encountered men who could smite and fight, they retired towards the acropolis. But as they gave ground, the Greeks pressed all the harder upon them, so that they turned their backs and were driven into the shelter of the citadel; they had slain seventy-four of Dion's men, and had lost many of their own number.

XXXI. Γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς τῆς νίκης οἱ μὲν Συρακούσιοι τοὺς ξένους ἑκατὸν μναῖς ἐστεφάνωσαν, οἱ δὲ ξένοι Δίωνα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ.
κήρυκες δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου κατέβαινον 972
ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Δίωνα παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων γυναικῶν κομίζοντες. μία δ' ἦν ἔξωθεν ἐπιγεγραμμένη, "Τῷ πατρί, παρ' Ἱππαρίνου·" τοῦτο γὰρ
2 ἦν ὄνομα τῷ Δίωνος υἱῷ. καίτοι φησὶ Τίμαιος Ἀρεταῖον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρέτης καλεῖσθαι· Τιμωνίδῃ δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς οἴομαι, περί γε τούτων πιστευτέον, ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ συστρατιώτῃ Δίωνος. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλαι τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐπιστολαὶ πολλὰς ἱκεσίας καὶ δεήσεις ἔχουσαι παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἶναι δοκοῦσαν οὐκ ἐώντων φανερῶς λυθῆναι βιασάμενος ὁ Δίων ἔλυσεν. ἦν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου, τοῖς μὲν γράμμασι πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασι πρὸς τοὺς Συρακουσίους διαλεγομένου, σχῆμα μὲν ἔχουσα δεήσεως καὶ δικαιολογίας, συγκειμένη δὲ πρὸς διαβολὴν τοῦ
3 Δίωνος. ὑπομνήσεις τε γὰρ ἦσαν ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς τυραννίδος ἔπραξε προθύμως, καὶ κατὰ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπειλαὶ σωμάτων, ἀδελφῆς καὶ τέκνου καὶ γυναικός, ἐπισκήψεις τε δειναὶ μετ' ὀλοφυρμῶν, καὶ τὸ μάλιστα κινῆσαν αὐτόν, ἀξιοῦντος μὴ καθαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν τυραννίδα, μηδ' ἐλευθεροῦν μισοῦντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ μνησικακοῦντας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἄρχειν, παρέχοντα τοῖς φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

XXXII. Ἀναγινωσκομένων δὲ τούτων οὐχ, ὅπερ ἦν δίκαιον, εἰσῄει τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν

XXXI. The victory was a brilliant one, and the Syracusans rewarded Dion's mercenaries with a hundred minas, while the mercenaries honoured Dion with a wreath of gold. And now heralds came down from Dionysius bringing letters to Dion from the women of his family. There was also one addressed outside, "To his father, from Hipparinus"; for this was the name of Dion's son. Timaeus, it is true, says he was called Aretaeus, from his mother Arete; but on this point at least, in my opinion, Timonides is rather to be trusted, who was a friend and fellow-soldier of Dion's. Well, then, the rest of the letters were read aloud to the Syracusans, and contained many supplications and entreaties from the women; but that which purported to be from Dion's son, the people would not allow to be opened in public. Dion, however, insisted upon it, and opened the letter. It was from Dionysius, who nominally addressed himself to Dion, but really to the Syracusans; and it had the form of entreaty and justification, but was calculated to bring odium on Dion. For there were reminders of his zealous services in behalf of the tyranny, and threats against the persons of his dearest ones, his sister, children, and wife; there were also dire injunctions coupled with lamentations, and, what affected him most of all, a demand that he should not abolish, but assume, the tyranny; that he should not give liberty to men who hated him and would never forget their wrongs, but take the power himself, and thereby assure his friends and kindred of their safety.

XXXII. When all this had been read aloud, it did not occur to the Syracusans, as it should have done, to be astonished at the firmness and magnanimity of

τοῦ Δίωνος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀπισχυριζομένου πρὸς τοιαύτας οἰκειότητας, ἀλλ' ὑποψίας καὶ φόβου λαβόντες ἀρχήν, ὡς μεγάλης οὔσης ἀνάγκης ἐκείνῳ φείδεσθαι τοῦ τυράννου, πρὸς ἑτέρους ἤδη προστάτας ἀπέβλεπον· καὶ μάλιστα πυνθανόμενοι καταπλεῖν Ἡρακλείδην
2 ἀνεπτοήθησαν. ἦν δὲ τῶν φυγάδων Ἡρακλείδης, στρατηγικὸς μὲν ἄνθρωπος καὶ γνώριμος ἀφ' ἡγεμονίας ἣν ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις, οὐκ ἀραρὼς δὲ τὴν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα κοῦφος, ἥκιστα δὲ βέβαιος ἐν κοινωνίᾳ πραγμάτων ἀρχὴν ἐχόντων καὶ δόξαν. οὗτος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πρὸς Δίωνα στασιάσας ἔγνω καθ' αὑτὸν ἰδιόστολος πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, εἴς τε Συρακούσας ἀφικόμενος ἑπτὰ τριήρεσι καὶ τρισὶ πλοίοις Διονύσιον μὲν αὖθις εὗρε περιτετειχισμένον, ἐπηρμένους δὲ
3 τοὺς Συρακουσίους. εὐθὺς οὖν ὑπεδύετο τὴν τῶν πολλῶν χάριν, ἔχων μέν τι καὶ φύσει πιθανὸν καὶ κινητικὸν ὄχλου θεραπεύεσθαι ζητοῦντος, ὑπολαμβάνων δὲ καὶ μετάγων ῥᾷον αὐτούς, οἳ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ Δίωνος ὡς βαρὺ καὶ δυσπολίτευτον ἀπεστρέφοντο διὰ τὴν γεγενημένην ἐκ τοῦ κρατεῖν ἄνεσιν καὶ θρασύτητα, πρὸ τοῦ δῆμος εἶναι τὸ δημαγωγεῖσθαι θέλοντες.

XXXIII. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀφ' αὑτῶν συνδραμόντες εἵλοντο τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ναύαρχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δίων παρελθὼν ᾐτιᾶτο τὴν ἐκείνῳ διδομένην ἀρχὴν ἀφαίρεσιν εἶναι τῆς πρότερον αὐτῷ δεδομένης, οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ

Dion, who was resisting in behalf of honour and justice such strong claims of relationship, but they found occasion for suspecting and fearing him, on the ground that he was under a strong necessity of sparing Dionysius, and at once turned their eyes towards other leaders. And particularly, when they learned that Heracleides was putting in to the harbour, they were all excitement. Now, Heracleides was one of the exiles, a man of military capacity and well known for the commands which he had held under the tyrants, but irresolute, fickle, and least to be relied upon as partner in an enterprise involving power and glory. He had quarrelled with Dion in Peloponnesus, and had resolved to sail on his own account and with his own fleet against the tyrant; but when he reached Syracuse, with seven triremes and three transports, he found Dionysius once more beleaguered, and the Syracusans elated with victory. At once, then, he sought to win the favour of the multitude, having a certain natural gift of persuading and moving a populace that seeks to be courted, and winning them over to his following all the more easily because they were repelled by the gravity of Dion. This they resented as severe and out of place in a public man, because their power had given them license and boldness, and they wished to be flattered by popular leaders before they were really a people.

XXXIII. So, to begin with, they held an assembly of their own calling, and chose Heracleides admiral. But Dion came forward and protested that in giving this office to Heracleides, they had done away with that which they had before given to him, for he would no longer be general with absolute powers

μένειν, ἂν ἄλλος ἡγῆται τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἄκοντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι πάλιν ἀπεψηφίσαντο
2 τὸν Ἡρακλείδην. γενομένων δὲ τούτων μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Δίων οἴκαδε, καὶ μικρὰ μεμψάμενος, ὡς οὐ καλῶς οὐδὲ συμφερόντως ὑπὲρ δόξης στασιάζοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ ῥοπῆς ὀλίγης δεομένῳ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν, αὖθις ἐκκλησίαν αὐτὸς συναγαγὼν ναύαρχον ἀπέδειξε τὸν Ἡρακλείδην, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔπεισε φυλακὴν δοῦναι
3 τοὺς πολίτας, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι τὸν Δίωνα θεραπεύων καὶ χάριν ὁμολογῶν ἔχειν παρηκολούθει ταπεινός, 973
ὑπηρετῶν τὸ κελευόμενον, κρύφα δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ νεωτεριστὰς διαφθείρων καὶ ὑποκινῶν, θορύβοις τὸν Δίωνα περιέβαλλεν, εἰς ἅπασαν ἀπορίαν
4 καθιστάμενον. εἴτε γὰρ ἀφιέναι κελεύοι Διονύσιον ὑπόσπονδον ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας, διαβολὴν εἶχε φείδεσθαι καὶ περισώζειν ἐκεῖνον, εἴτε λυπεῖν μὴ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἡσυχάζοι, διατηρεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς μᾶλλον ἄρχοι καὶ καταπλήττοιτο τοὺς πολίτας.

XXXIV. Ἦν δέ τις Σῶσις, ἄνθρωπος ἐκ πονηρίας καὶ θρασύτητος εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, περιουσίαν ἡγουμένοις ἐλευθερίας τὸ μέχρι τοιούτων ἀνεῖσθαι τὴν παρρησίαν. οὗτος ἐπιβουλεύων Δίωνι πρῶτον μὲν ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἀναστὰς πολλὰ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐλοιδόρησεν, εἰ μὴ συνιᾶσιν ὡς ἐμπλήκτου καὶ μεθυούσης ἀπηλλαγμένοι τυραννίδος ἐγρηγορότα καὶ νήφοντα
2 δεσπότην εἰλήφασιν· ἔπειτα φανερὸν τοῦ Δίωνος ἐχθρὸν ἀναδείξας ἑαυτὸν τότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπῆλθε, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ γυμνὸς ὤφθη διὰ τῆς

if another should have command of the navy. Then the Syracusans reluctantly revoked the appointment of Heracleides. When this had been done, Dion summoned Heracleides to his house and gently reproached him, on the ground that he was not acting well or wisely in quarrelling with him for honours at a crisis where a slight impulse might ruin their cause. Then he himself called a fresh assembly and appointed Heracleides admiral, and persuaded the citizens to give him a body-guard, like his own. In word and mien, now, Heracleides paid court to Dion, acknowledged his thanks to him, and attended submissively upon him, performing his commands; but in secret he perverted and stirred up the multitude and the revolutionaries, and encompassed Dion with disturbances which reduced him to utter perplexity. For if he advised to let Dionysius leave the citadel under a truce, he would be charged with sparing and preserving him; and if, wishing to give no offence, he simply continued the siege, it would be said that he was protracting the war, in order that he might the longer be in command and overawe the citizens.

XXXIV. Now, there was a certain Sosis, a man whose baseness and impudence gave him renown in Syracuse, where it was thought that abundance of liberty could only be shown by such license of speech as his. This man, with hostile designs upon Dion, first rose in an assembly and roundly abused the Syracusans for not comprehending that they had merely exchanged a stupid and drunken tyrant for a watchful and sober master; and having thus declared himself an open enemy of Dion, he left the assembly. Next, on the following day he was seen running

πόλεως θέων ἀνάπλεως αἵματος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ὡς δή τινας φεύγων διώκοντας. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων τοῦ Δίωνος ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι, καὶ τὴν
3 κεφαλὴν ἐπεδείκνυε τετρωμένην· καὶ πολλοὺς εἶχε τοὺς συναγανακτοῦντας καὶ συνισταμένους κατὰ τοῦ Δίωνος, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ τυραννικὰ πράττοντος, εἰ φόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν παρρησίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, καίπερ ἀκρίτου καὶ ταραχώδους ἐκκλησίας γενομένης, παρελθὼν ὁ Δίων ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὸν Σῶσιν ἀπέφαινε τῶν Διονυσίου δορυφόρων ἑνὸς ἀδελφὸν ὄντα καὶ δι' ἐκείνου πεπεισμένον στασιάσαι καὶ συνταράξαι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδεμιᾶς Διονυσίῳ σωτηρίας οὔσης, πλὴν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπιστίας καὶ δια-
4 φορᾶς πρὸς αὐτούς. ἅμα δ' οἱ μὲν ἰατροὶ τοῦ Σώσιδος τὸ τραῦμα καταμανθάνοντες εὕρισκον ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς μᾶλλον ἢ καταφορᾶς γεγενημένον. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ξίφους πληγαὶ μάλιστα τὸ μέσον ὑπὸ βάρους πιέζουσι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σώσιδος λεπτὸν ἦν διόλου καὶ πολλὰς εἶχεν ἀρχάς, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπ'
5 ἀλγηδόνος ἀνιέντος, εἶτα αὖθις ἐπάγοντος. ἧκον δέ τινες τῶν γνωρίμων ξυρὸν κομίζοντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ διηγούμενοι βαδίζουσιν αὐτοῖς καθ' ὁδὸν ἀπαντῆσαι τὸν Σῶσιν ᾑμαγμένον καὶ λέγοντα φεύγειν τοὺς Δίωνος ξένους ὡς ἀρτίως ὑπ' ἐκείνων τετρωμένος· εὐθὺς οὖν διώκοντες ἄνθρωπον μὲν οὐδένα λαβεῖν, ὑπὸ πέτραν δὲ κοίλην κείμενον ἰδεῖν ξυρόν, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ὤφθη προσερχόμενος.

XXXV. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἤδη μοχθηρὰ τὰ περὶ τὸν

through the city almost naked, his head and face covered with blood, as though he were trying to escape pursuit. In this condition he dashed into the assembly and told the people there that he had been set upon by Dion's mercenaries, and showed them his head with its wounds. He found many to share his resentment and take sides with him against Dion, who, they said, was committing dire acts of tyranny, if by murder and peril of life he sought to rob the citizens of their free speech. However, although the assembly had become confused and tumultuous, Dion came forward and showed in his own defence that Sosis was a brother of one of the body-guards of Dionysius, and had been induced by him to raise confusion and faction among the citizens, since there was no safety for Dionysius except in their mutual distrust and dissension. At the same time, too, the physicians examined the wound of Sosis and discovered that it had been made by razure rather than by a downright blow. For the blows of a sword, by reason of its weight, make wounds that are deepest in the middle, but that of Sosis was shallow all along, and intermittent, as would be natural if he stopped his work on account of pain, and then began it again. Besides, certain well known persons brought a razor to the assembly, and stated that as they were walking along the street, Sosis met them, all bloody, and declaring that he was running away from Dion's mercenaries, by whom he had just been wounded; at once, then, they ran after them, and found no one, but saw a razor lying under a hollow rock in the quarter from which Sosis had been seen to come.

XXXV. Well, then, the case of Sosis was already

Σῶσιν· προσγενομένων δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἐλέγχοις οἰκετῶν καταμαρτυρούντων ὡς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξέλθοι μόνος ἔχων τὸ ξυρόν, οἵ τε κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Δίωνος ὑπεχώρησαν ὅ τε δῆμος καταψηφισάμενος θάνατον τοῦ Σώσιδος διηλλάσσετο τῷ Δίωνι.

2 Τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐν ὑποψίαις εἶχον, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πλείστων ἀγώνων πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἤδη γινομένων κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιστος ἧκεν ἐξ Ἰαπυγίας ἔχων πολλὰς τριήρεις Διονυσίῳ βοηθήσων, καὶ τῶν ξένων ὄντων ὁπλιτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἔτι χρῆσιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἔσεσθαι ναυβάταις οὖσι καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐκ τῶν
3 νεῶν κτωμένοις. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπῆρεν εὐτυχία τις γενομένη κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐν ᾗ νικήσαντες τὸν Φίλιστον ὠμῶς καὶ βαρβαρικῶς αὐτῷ προσηνέχθησαν. Ἔφορος μὲν οὖν φησιν ὡς ἁλισκομένης τῆς νεὼς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέλοι, Τιμωνίδης δὲ πραττομέναις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῖς πράξεσι ταύταις 974
μετὰ Δίωνος παραγενόμενος καὶ γράφων πρὸς Σπεύσιππον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἱστορεῖ ζῶντα ληφθῆναι τῆς τριήρους εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσούσης τὸν
4 Φίλιστον· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποδύσαντας αὐτοῦ τὸν θώρακα τοὺς Συρακουσίους καὶ γυμνὸν ἐπιδειξαμένους τὸ σῶμα προπηλακίζειν ὄντος ἤδη γέροντος· ἔπειτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ τοῖς παισὶ παραδοῦναι τὸ σῶμα, κελεύσαντας ἕλκειν διὰ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Λατο-
5 μίας. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφυβρίζων ὁ Τίμαιος ἐκ τοῦ σκέλους φησὶ τοῦ χωλοῦ τὰ παιδάρια τὸν νεκρὸν ἐφαψάμενα τοῦ Φιλίστου σύρειν διὰ τῆς πόλεως, χλευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακουσίων πάντων,

desperate; but when, in addition to these proofs, his servants testified that while it was still night he had left the house alone and carrying the razor, Dion's accusers withdrew, and the people, after condemning Sosis to death, were reconciled with Dion.

However, they were none the less suspicious of his mercenaries, and especially so, now that most of the struggles against the tyrant were carried on at sea, since Philistus had come from Iapygia with a large number of triremes to help Dionysius; and since the mercenaries were men-at-arms, they thought them of no further use for the war, nay, they felt that even these troops were dependent for protection upon the citizens themselves, who were seamen, and derived their power from their fleet. And they were still more elated by a successful engagement at sea, in which they defeated Philistus, and then treated him in a barbarous and savage fashion. Ephorus, it is true, says that when his ship was captured, Philistus slew himself; but Timonides, who was engaged with Dion in all the events of this war from the very first, in writing to Speusippus the philosopher, relates that Philistus was taken alive after his trireme had run aground, and that the Syracusans, to begin with, stripped off his breast-plate and exposed his body, almost naked, to insult and abuse, although he was now an old man; then, that they cut off his head, and gave his body to the boys of the city, with orders to drag it through Achradina and throw it into the stone quarries. And Timaeus, enlarging upon these indignities, says that the boys tied a rope to the lame leg of the dead Philistus and dragged his body through the city, while all the Syracusans mocked and jeered as they saw drawn about by the

ὁρώντων τοῦ σκέλους ἑλκόμενον τὸν εἰπόντα μὴ δεῖν ἐκ τυραννίδος φεύγειν Διονύσιον ἵππῳ ταχεῖ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σκέλους ἑλκόμενον. καίτοι τοῦτο Φίλιστος, ὡς ὑφ' ἑτέρου λεχθέν, οὐχ ὑφ' αὑτοῦ, πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐξήγγελκεν.

XXXVI. Ἀλλὰ Τίμαιος οὐκ ἄδικον λαβὼν πρόφασιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς τυραννίδος τοῦ Φιλίστου σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν ἐμπίπλαται τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημιῶν, ᾧ τοὺς μὲν ἀδικηθέντας τότε συγγνωστόν ἐστιν ἴσως ἄχρι τῆς εἰς ἀναίσθητον ὀργῆς χαλεποὺς γενέσθαι, τοὺς δ' ὕστερον συγγράφοντας τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ τῷ μὲν βίῳ μὴ λυπηθέντας αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ χρωμένους, ἡ δόξα παραιτεῖται μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως μηδὲ μετὰ βωμολοχίας ὀνειδίζειν τὰς συμφοράς, ὧν οὐδὲν ἀπέχει καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τύχης μετασχεῖν.
2 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' Ἔφορος ὑγιαίνει τὸν Φίλιστον ἐγκωμιάζων, ὅς, καίπερ ὢν δεινότατος ἀδίκοις πράγμασι καὶ πονηροῖς ἤθεσιν εὐσχήμονας αἰτίας περιβαλεῖν καὶ λόγους ἔχοντας κόσμον ἐξευρεῖν, αὐτὸς αὑτὸν οὐ δύναται πάντα μηχανώμενος ἐξελέσθαι τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς οὐ φιλοτυραννότατος ἀνθρώπων γένοιτο καὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἀεὶ ζηλώσας καὶ θαυμάσας τρυφὴν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ πλούτους καὶ γάμους τοὺς τῶν τυράννων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Φιλίστου μὲν ὁ μήτε τὰς πράξεις ἐπαινῶν μήτε τὰς τύχας ὀνειδίζων ἐμμελέστατος.

XXXVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίστου τελευτὴν Διονύσιος ἔπεμπε πρὸς Δίωνα τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν ἐκείνῳ παραδιδοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ πέντε μηνῶν ἐντελῆ τούτοις μισθόν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀξιῶν ὑπόσπονδος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπελθεῖν

leg the man who had said to Dionysius that he must not run away from his tyranny on a swift horse, but wait until he was dragged from it by the leg. And yet Philistus has stated explicitly that this was said to Dionysius by another, and not by himself.

XXXVI. But Timaeus, finding a fair excuse for his animosity in the zeal and fidelity which Philistus showed in behalf of the tyranny, gluts himself with the slanders against him. Now, those who were wronged by Philistus while he lived may perhaps be pardoned for carrying their resentment to the length of maltreating his unconscious body; but those who in later times write histories of that period, and who were not harmed by his life, but avail themselves of his writings, owe it to his reputation not to reproach him, in insolent and scurrilous language, for calamities in which fortune may involve even the best of men. However, Ephorus also is unsound in heaping praises upon Philistus; for, although he is most skilful in furnishing unjust deeds and base natures with specious motives, and in discovering decorous names for them, still, even he, with all his artifice, cannot extricate himself from the charge of having been the greatest lover of tyrants alive, and more than any one else always an emulous admirer of luxury, power, wealth, and marriage alliances of tyrants. Verily, he who neither praises the conduct of Philistus, nor gloats insultingly over his misfortunes, takes the fittest course.

XXXVII. After the death of Philistus, Dionysius sent to Dion offering to surrender to him the acropolis, his munitions of war, and his mercenaries, with five months' full pay for these, and demanding for himself the privilege of retiring unmolested into

κἀκεῖ κατοικῶν καρποῦσθαι τῆς Συρακουσίας τὸν καλούμενον Γύαρτα, πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν χώραν
2 ἀνήκουσαν ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον. οὐ προσδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος, ἀλλὰ δεῖσθαι τῶν Συρακουσίων κελεύσαντος, οἱ μὲν Συρακούσιοι ζῶντα λήψεσθαι τὸν Διονύσιον ἐλπίσαντες ἀπήλασαν τοὺς πρέσβεις, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν Ἀπολλοκράτει, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων, παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πνεῦμα τηρήσας ἐπίφορον καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐνθέμενος εἰς τὰς ναῦς λαθὼν τὸν ναύαρχον Ἡρακλείδην ἐξέπλευσεν.

3 Ὁ δὲ κακῶς ἀκούων καὶ θορυβούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν Ἵππωνά τινα τῶν δημαγωγῶν καθίησι προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμόν, ὡς ἐλευθερίας ἀρχὴν οὖσαν τὴν ἰσότητα, δουλείας δὲ τὴν πενίαν τοῖς ἀκτήμοσι. συνηγορῶν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Δίωνα καταστασιάζων ἐναντιούμενον ἔπεισε τοὺς Συρακουσίους ταῦτα ψηφίσασθαι καὶ τῶν ξένων τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερεῖν καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἑτέρους ἑλέσθαι, τῆς ἐκείνου βαρύτητος
4 ἀπαλλαγέντας. οἱ δ', ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀρρωστίας τῆς τυραννίδος εὐθὺς ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐξανίστασθαι, καὶ πράττειν τὰ τῶν αὐτονομουμένων 975
παρὰ καιρόν, ἐσφάλλοντο μὲν αὐτοὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἐμίσουν δὲ τὸν Δίωνα βουλόμενον ὥσπερ ἰατρὸν ἐν ἀκριβεῖ καὶ σωφρονούσῃ διαίτῃ κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

XXXVIII. Ἐκκλησιάζουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ νέαις ἀρχαῖς, θέρους μεσοῦντος, ἐξαίσιοι βρονταὶ καὶ διοσημίαι πονηραὶ συνέβαινον ἐφ' ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε συνεχῶς, ἀνιστᾶσαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὸ δεισι-

Italy, and of enjoying during his residence there the revenues of Gyarta, a large and rich tract in the territory of Syracuse, extending from the sea to the interior of the island. Dion, however, would not accept these terms, but bade him apply to the Syracusans, and these, hoping to take Dionysius alive, drove away his ambassadors. Upon this, the tyrant handed over the citadel to Apollocrates, his eldest son, while he himself, after watching for a favourable wind and putting on board his ships the persons and property that he held most dear, eluded the vigilance of Heracleides the admiral, and sailed off.

Heracleides was now stormily denounced by the citizens, whereupon he induced Hippo, one of their leaders, to make proposals to the people for a distribution of land, urging that liberty was based on equality, and slavery on the poverty of those who had naught. Supporting Hippo, and heading a faction which overwhelmed the opposition of Dion, Heracleides persuaded the Syracusans to vote this measure, to deprive the mercenaries of their pay, and to elect other generals, thus ridding themselves of the severities of Dion. So the people, attempting, as it were, to stand at once upon their feet after their long sickness of tyranny, and to act the part of independence out of season, stumbled in their undertakings, and yet hated Dion, who, like a physician, wished to subject the city to a strict and temperate regimen.

XXXVIII. As they met in assembly to assign new commands, the time being midsummer, extraordinary peals of thunder and evil portents from the heavens occurred for fifteen days together, and dispersed the

δαιμονίας κωλυόμενον ἑτέρους ἀποδεῖξαι στρατη-
2 γούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φυλάξαντες εὐδίαν σταθερὰν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ συνετέλουν τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, βοῦς ἁμαξεὺς οὐκ ἀήθης οὐδ' ἄπειρος ὄχλων, ἄλλως δέ πως τότε πρὸς τὸν ἐλαύνοντα θυμωθεὶς καὶ φυγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ, δρόμῳ πρὸς τὸ θέατρον ὥρμησε· καὶ τὸν μὲν δῆμον εὐθὺς ἀνέστησε καὶ διεσκέδασεν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ φεύγοντα, τῆς δ' ἄλλης πόλεως ἐπέδραμε σκιρτῶν καὶ ταράττων ὅσον ὕστερον οἱ πολέμιοι κατέσχον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα χαίρειν ἐάσαντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι στρατηγοὺς ἐχειροτόνησαν, ὧν εἷς ἦν
3 Ἡρακλείδης· καὶ τοὺς ξένους ὑποπέμποντες κρύφα τοῦ Δίωνος ἀφίστασαν καὶ μετεκάλουν πρὸς αὑτούς, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἰσομοιρίαν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ προσεδέξαντο, τὸν δὲ Δίωνα πιστῶς καὶ προθύμως μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναλαβόντες καὶ συμφράξαντες ὑπῆγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀδικοῦντες μὲν οὐδένα, πολλὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ μοχθη-
4 ρίαν ὀνειδίζοντες. οἱ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγότητος αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ μὴ προεπιχειρεῖν καταφρονήσαντες, καὶ γενόμενοι πολὺ πλείους ἐκείνων, ἐφώρμησαν ὡς ῥᾳδίως ἐπικρατήσοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς κατακτενοῦντες.

XXXIX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γεγονὼς ἀνάγκης καὶ τύχης ὁ Δίων ἢ μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις ἢ μετὰ τῶν ξένων ἀποθανεῖν, πολλὰ μὲν ἱκέτευεν ὀρέγων τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς Συρακουσίοις καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν

people, whose superstitious fears prevented them from appointing other generals. And when, after waiting for settled fair weather, the popular leaders were proceeding to hold the elections, a draught-ox, who was quite accustomed to crowds, but now for some reason or other got angry at his driver and broke away from the yoke, made a dash for the theatre, and at once dispersed and scattered the people in disorderly flight; then he ran, plunging and throwing everything into confusion, over as much of the rest of the city as the enemy afterwards occupied. However, the Syracusans paid no heed to all this, but elected twenty-five generals, one of whom was Heracleides; they also sent secretly and without his knowledge to Dion's mercenaries, and tried to get them to leave his service and come over to their side, promising them even an equality of civic rights. They, however, would not listen to these proposals, but showing fidelity and zeal, took their weapons in their hands, put Dion in their midst, encompassed him about, and tried to conduct him out of the city, doing violence to no one, but roundly reviling those whom they encountered for their base ingratitude. Then the citizens, seeing that the mercenaries were few in number and did not offer to attack, despised them, and having become far more numerous than they, set upon them, thinking to overpower them easily before they got out of the city, and slay them all.

XXXIX. And now Dion, seeing that fortune compelled him either to fight against his fellow citizens or perish with his mercenaries, fervently besought the Syracusans, stretching out his hands to them,

περίπλεων πολεμίων οὖσαν ὑπερφαινομένων τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ γενόμενα καθορώντων ἐπιδεικνύ-
2 μενος· ὡς δ' ἦν ἀπαραίτητος ἡ τῶν πολλῶν φορὰ καὶ κατεῖχεν ὥσπερ ἐν πελάγει τὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν πνεῦμα τὴν πόλιν, ἐμβολῆς μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι τοῖς ξένοις προσέταξεν, ὅσον δ' ἐπιδραμόντων μετὰ βοῆς καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις τιναξαμένων οὐδεὶς ἔμεινε τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἀλλ' ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες ἀνὰ τὰς ἀγυιάς, οὐδενὸς ἐπιδιώκοντος· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀπέστρεψεν ὁ Δίων τοὺς ξένους καὶ προῆγεν εἰς Λεοντίνους.

3 Οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τῶν Συρακουσίων καταγέλαστοι γεγονότες ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀναλαβεῖν ζητοῦντες, αὖθις ὁπλίσαντες τοὺς πολίτας ἐδίωκον τὸν Δίωνα. καὶ κατέλαβον μὲν ἐπὶ διαβάσει τινὸς ποταμοῦ καὶ προσίππευσαν ἀψιμαχοῦντες· ὡς δ' ἑώρων οὐκέτι πρᾴως οὐδὲ πατρικῶς ὑπομένοντα τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ τοὺς ξένους ἐπιστρέφοντα καὶ παρατασσόμενον, αἰσχίονα φυγὴν τῆς προτέρας φυγόντες ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ πολλῶν ἀποθανόντων.

XL. Δίωνα δὲ Λεοντῖνοι λαμπραῖς ἐδέχοντο τιμαῖς, καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀνελάμβανον μισθοῖς καὶ πολιτείαις· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπρέσβευον ἀξιοῦντες τὰ δίκαια τοῖς ξένοις ποιεῖν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν κατηγορήσοντας Δίωνος
2 τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἁπάντων εἰς Λεοντίνους ἀθροισθέντων καὶ γενομένων λόγων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἔδοξαν ἀδικεῖν οἱ Συρακούσιοι· τοῖς δὲ κριθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τρυφῶντες ἤδη καὶ

and pointing out to them the acropolis, which was full of enemies peering over the walls and watching what was going on below; but since no entreaties could stay the onset of the multitudes, and the city, like a ship at sea, was at the mercy of the blasts of its demagogues, he ordered his mercenaries not to make a charge, but simply to run towards their assailants with loud cries and brandishing of weapons; which being done, not a Syracusan stood his ground, but all promptly took to flight along the streets, where none pursued them. For Dion immediately ordered his men to wheel about, and led them forth to Leontini.

But the leaders of the Syracusans, now that they were become a laughing-stock for the women, sought to redeem their disgrace, armed the citizens again, and pursued after Dion. They came upon him as he was crossing a river, and their horsemen rode up for a skirmish; but when they saw that he no longer bore with their faults in a mild and paternal spirit, but was angrily wheeling his mercenaries about and putting them in battle array, they broke into a more disgraceful flight than before, and retired into the city, with the loss of a few men.

XL. The Leontines received Dion with splendid honours, took his mercenaries into their service, and gave them civic rights; they also sent an embassy to the Syracusans with a demand that they should do the mercenaries justice. The Syracusans, however, sent envoys to denounce Dion. But when all the confederates had assembled at Leontini and discussed the matter, it was decided that the Syracusans were in the wrong. By this decision of their confederates, however, the Syracusans would not abide,

μεγαλοφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ
χρῆσθαι δουλεύουσι καὶ φοβουμένοις τὸν δῆμον
στρατηγοῖς.

XLI. Ἐκ *τούτου καταπλέουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν*
παρὰ Δ*ιονυσίου τριήρεις* Ν*ύψιον ἄγουσαι τὸν* 976
Ν*εαπολίτην, σῖτον καὶ χρήματα κομίζοντα τοῖς*
πολιορκουμένοις. γενομένης δὲ ναυμαχίας ἐνίκων
μὲν οἱ Σ*υρακούσιοι καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν τυραννικῶν*
νεῶν ἔλαβον, ὑβρίσαντες δὲ τῇ νίκῃ, καὶ δι'
ἀναρχίαν τὸ χαῖρον εἰς πότους καὶ συνουσίας
μανικὰς τρέψαντες, οὕτω τῶν χρησίμων ἠμέλη-
σαν ὥστε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχειν δοκοῦντες ἤδη καὶ
2 *τὴν πόλιν προσαπέβαλον. ὁ γὰρ* Ν*ύψιος ὁρῶν*
οὐδὲν ὑγιαῖνον ἐν τῇ πόλει μέρος, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν
ὄχλον αὐλήμασι καὶ μέθαις εἰς νύκτα βαθεῖαν
ἀφ' ἡμέρας κατεχόμενον, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς
ἐπιτερπομένους τε τούτῳ τῷ πανηγυρισμῷ καὶ
προσάγειν ἀνάγκην μεθύουσιν ἀνθρώποις ὀκνοῦν-
τας, ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος ἐπεχείρησε τῷ
τειχίσματι· καὶ κρατήσας καὶ διαθρύψας ἐφῆκε
τοὺς βαρβάρους, κελεύσας χρῆσθαι τοῖς προσ-
3 *τυγχάνουσιν ὡς βούλονται καὶ δύνανται. ταχέως*
μὲν οὖν οἱ Σ*υρακούσιοι τὸ κακὸν ᾔσθοντο, βραδέ-*
ως δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς συνεβοήθουν ἐκπεπληγμένοι.
πόρθησις γὰρ ἦν τὰ γινόμενα τῆς πόλεως, τῶν
μὲν ἀνδρῶν φονευομένων, τῶν δὲ τειχῶν κατα-
σκαπτομένων, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ παίδων ἀγομένων
εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετ' οἰμωγῆς, ἀπεγνωκότων δὲ
τὰ πράγματα τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ χρῆσθαι μὴ
δυναμένων τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
ἀναπεφυρμένους καὶ συμμεμιγμένους αὐτοῖς
πανταχόθεν.

being now insolent and full of pride because they were subject to no one, but had generals who were in slavish fear of the people.

XLI. After this, there put in at the city triremes from Dionysius, under the command of Nypsius the Neapolitan, who brought food and money for the beleaguered garrison of the acropolis. In a naval battle that ensued the Syracusans were indeed victorious, and captured four of the tyrant's ships, but they were made wanton by their victory, and in their utter lack of discipline turned their rejoicing into drinking-bouts and mad carousals, and were so neglectful of their real interests that, when they thought themselves already in possession of the acropolis, they actually lost both it and their city besides. For Nypsius, seeing no saving remnant in the city, but the multitude given over to music and revelry from dawn till midnight, and their generals delighted with this festivity and reluctant to use compulsion with men in their cups, made the best use of his opportunity and attacked their siege-works, and having mastered these and broken them down, he let his Barbarians loose upon the city, bidding them treat those whom they encountered as they could and would. Quickly, then, were the Syracusans aware of the mischief, but slowly and with difficulty did they rally to oppose it, so utterly distracted were they. For it was a sack of the city that was now going on, its men being slain, its walls torn down, and its women and children dragged shrieking to the acropolis, while its generals gave up all for lost and were unable to employ the citizens against the enemy, who were everywhere inextricably mingled with them.

XLII. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου πρὸς τὴν Ἀχραδινὴν πλησιάζοντος, εἰς ὃν μόνον ἦν καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπερείσασθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα πάντες μὲν ἐφρόνουν, ἔλεγε δὲ οὐδείς, αἰσχυνόμενοι τὴν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀβουλίαν τὴν πρὸς Δίωνα. πλήν γε δὴ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐκβιαζομένης παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ἱππέων γίνεται φωνὴ καλεῖν Δίωνα καὶ μεταπέμ-
2 πεσθαι τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐκ Λεοντίνων. ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ἠκούσθη καὶ ἀπετολμήθη τοῦτο, κραυγὴ καὶ χαρὰ καὶ δάκρυα τοὺς Συρακουσίους κατεῖχεν εὐχομένους ἐπιφανῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ποθοῦντας τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεμνημένους τῆς παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ ῥώμης καὶ προθυμίας, ὡς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἦν ἀνέκπληκτος, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνους παρεῖχε θαρροῦντας καὶ ἀδεῶς τοῖς πολεμίοις συμφερομέ-
3 νους. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐκπέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων Ἀρχωνίδην καὶ Τελεσίδην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων πέντε τοὺς περὶ Ἑλλάνικον. οὗτοι διελάσαντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἵπποις ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ἧκον εἰς Λεοντίνους τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη καταφερομένης. ἀποπηδήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῷ Δίωνι πρώτῳ προσπεσόντες δεδακρυμένοι τὰς
4 συμφορὰς τῶν Συρακουσίων ἔφραζον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν Λεοντίνων τινὲς ἀπήντων καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἠθροίζοντο πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα πολλοί, τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπονοοῦντες εἶναί τι καινότερον. εὐθὺς οὖν ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συνδραμόντων προθύμως οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρχωνίδην καὶ τὸν Ἑλλάνικον εἰσελθόντες ἐξήγγειλάν τε βραχέως τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν, καὶ παρεκάλουν τοὺς ξένους ἐπαμῦναι

XLII. While the city was in this plight and the Achradina in imminent peril, all knew who was the only man left upon whom they could fasten their hopes, but no one spoke his name, because they were ashamed of their ingratitude and folly towards Dion. However, now that necessity constrained them, some of the allies and horsemen cried out that Dion and his Peloponnesians should be summoned from Leontini. As soon as this venture was made and the name heard, the Syracusans fell to shouting and weeping for joy; they prayed that Dion might appear upon the scene, and yearned for the sight of him, and called to mind his ardour and vigour in the presence of danger, remembering that he was not only undaunted himself, but made them also bold and fearless in engaging their enemies. Immediately, therefore, they sent a delegation to him, Archonides and Telesides from the allies, and Hellanicus with four others from the horsemen. These, sending their horses over the road at full gallop, came to Leontini just as the sun was setting. Then, leaping from their horses and throwing themselves at the feet of Dion first of all, with streaming eyes they told him the calamities of the Syracusans. Presently, too, some of the Leontines came up and many of the Peloponnesians gathered about Dion, conjecturing from the haste and suppliant address of the men that something quite extraordinary was the matter. At once, then, Dion led his visitors to the place of assembly, the people eagerly gathered there, Archonides and Hellanicus with their companions came before them, reported to them briefly the great disaster, and called upon the mercenaries to put away their feelings of resentment and come to the

τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, τὸ μνησικακεῖν ἀφέντας, ὡς μείζονα δίκην δεδωκότων αὐτῶν ἢ λαβεῖν ἂν οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἠξίωσαν.

XLIII. Παυσαμένων δὲ τούτων σιγὴ μὲν εἶχε πολλὴ τὸ θέατρον· ἀναστάντος δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος καὶ λέγειν ἀρξαμένου πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων ἐκπίπτοντα τὴν φωνὴν ἐπέσχεν· οἱ δὲ ξένοι παρεκάλουν θαρρεῖν καὶ συνήχθοντο. μικρὸν οὖν ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ἑαυτὸν ὁ Δίων, "Ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, βουλευσομένους
2 ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν συνήγαγον. ἐμοὶ
δὲ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι καλῶς οὐκ ἔχει 977
Συρακουσῶν ἀπολλυμένων, ἀλλ' εἰ σῶσαι μὴ δυναίμην, ἄπειμι τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ πτώματι τῆς πατρίδος ἐνταφησόμενος. ὑμεῖς δέ, βουλόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀβουλοτάτοις ἡμῖν καὶ δυστυχεστάτοις, ὑμέτερον ἔργον οὖσαν ὀρθοῦτε τὴν Συρακουσίων πόλιν· εἰ δὲ μεμφόμενοι Συρακουσίοις ὑπερόψεσθε, τῆς γε πρότερον ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας περὶ ἐμὲ χάριν ἀξίαν κομίζοισθε παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, μεμνημένοι Δίωνος, ὡς οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἀδικουμένους πρότερον οὔθ' ὕστερον τοὺς πολίτας δυστυχοῦντας ἐγκαταλιπόντος."

3 Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ξένοι μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀνεπήδησαν ἄγειν καὶ βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος κελεύοντες, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Συρακουσίων περιβαλόντες ἠσπάσαντο πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνῳ, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐχόμενοι.

aid of the Syracusans, since those who had wronged them had suffered a heavier punishment than those who had been wronged would have thought it right to exact.

XLIII. When the messengers had made an end of speaking, there was a profound silence in the theatre; then Dion rose and began to speak, but copious tears checked his utterance; his mercenaries, however, sympathized with him and bade him take heart. Accordingly, after he had recovered a little from his grief, he said: "Men of Peloponnesus and allies, I have brought you together here to deliberate upon your own course of action. As for me, it is not meet that I should consult my own interests now that Syracuse is perishing, but if I cannot save her, I shall return to seek a grave amid the blazing ruins of my native city. But you, if you are willing even now, after all that has passed, to come to our help, who are the most foolish and the most unfortunate of men, pray restore the city of Syracuse and the work of your own hands.[1] If, however, in your displeasure at the Syracusans, you shall leave them to their fate, at least for your former bravery and zeal in my behalf may you obtain a worthy reward from the gods, and may you think of Dion as one who abandoned neither you when you were wronged, nor, afterwards, his fellow citizens when they were in distress."

While he was still speaking, the mercenaries sprang to their feet with shouts and bade him lead them speedily to the city's relief, while the Syracusan envoys embraced them passionately, invoking many blessings from the gods upon Dion, and many upon

[1] Syracuse was colonized from Corinth, in Peloponnesus.

καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου παρήγγειλεν ὁ Δίων εὐθὺς ἀπιόντας παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ δειπνήσαντας ἥκειν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἐγνωκὼς διὰ νυκτὸς βοηθεῖν.

XLIV. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Συρακούσαις τῶν Διονυσίου στρατηγῶν, ἄχρι μὲν ἦν ἡμέρα, πολλὰ κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐργασαμένων, γενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς ἀναχωρησάντων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καί τινας ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὀλίγους ἀποβαλόντων, ἀναθαρρήσαντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπίσαντες ἀτρεμήσειν ἐπὶ τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις, παρεκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας αὖθις ἐὰν Δίωνα, κἂν προσίῃ μετὰ τῶν ξένων, μὴ δέχεσθαι μηδὲ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκείνοις ὡς κρείττοσιν, ἀλλὰ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς δι'
2 ἑαυτῶν. πάλιν οὖν ἐπέμποντο πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα, παρὰ μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀποτρέποντες, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων πολιτῶν ἐπισπεύδοντες τὴν πορείαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βραδέως ἅμα καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν πορευόμενος προσῄει. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς προελθούσης οἱ μὲν μισοῦντες τὸν Δίωνα κατεῖχον τὰς πύλας ὡς ἀποκλείσοντες αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ Νύψιος, ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας αὖθις πολλῷ προθυμοτέρους γεγονότας καὶ πλείονας ἐφιεὶς τοὺς μισθοφόρους, τὸ μὲν προτείχισμα πᾶν εὐθὺς κατέσκαπτε,
3 τὴν δὲ πόλιν κατέτρεχε καὶ διήρπαζεν. ἦν δὲ φόνος μὲν οὐκέτι μόνον ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, ἁρπαγαὶ δ' ὀλίγαι, φθόρος δὲ πάντων πολύς. ἀπεγνωκότος γὰρ ἤδη τὰ πράγματα τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους δεινῶς μεμισηκότος, ὥσπερ ἐνταφιάσαι τὴν τυραννίδα τῇ πόλει πίπτουσαν ἐβούλετο. καὶ τοῦ Δίωνος

his mercenaries. And when the tumult was allayed, Dion ordered his men to go to their quarters and make themselves ready, and, after taking supper, to come with their arms to that very place, for he was determined to go to the rescue by night.

XLIV. But the soldiers of Dionysius at Syracuse, as long as it was day, did much mischief to the city; when night came, however, they retired to the acropolis, having lost some few of their number. Upon this, the popular leaders of the Syracusans plucked up courage, and in the hope that the enemy would rest content with what they had done, exhorted the citizens once more to ignore Dion, and if he should come up with his mercenaries, not to admit them, nor yield precedence to them as superior in point of bravery, but to save their city and their liberty by their own efforts. Accordingly, fresh messengers were sent to Dion, some from the generals forbidding his advance, but others from the horsemen and more reputable citizens urging him to hasten it. For this reason he came marching on now slowly, and now at top speed. As the night advanced the enemies of Dion took possession of the gates in order to shut him out, but Nypsius, sending his mercenaries once more from the citadel in greater numbers and with more impetuosity than before, tore down at once the entire siege-wall, and overran and sacked the city. And now there was a slaughter not only of men, but also of women and children; there was little haling away of prisoners, but a great destruction of all alike. For since Dionysius now despaired of his cause and fiercely hated the Syracusans, he wished to make their city as it were a tomb for his falling tyranny. So his soldiers, fore-

προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπὶ τὸν ὀξύτατον διὰ πυρὸς πάντων ὄλεθρον καὶ ἀφανισμὸν ἐχώρησαν, τὰ μὲν ἐγγὺς ἀπὸ χειρῶν δᾳσὶ καὶ λαμπάσιν ὑποπιμπράντες, εἰς δὲ τὰ πρόσω δια-
4 σπείροντες ἀπὸ τόξων πυροβόλους. φευγόντων δὲ τῶν Συρακουσίων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐφονεύοντο καταλαμβανόμενοι, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καταδυόμενον αὖθις ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξέπιπτε, πολλῶν ἤδη φλεγομένων καὶ καταφερομένων ἐπὶ τοὺς διαθέοντας.

XLV. Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἀνέῳξε Δίωνι πάντων συμφωνησάντων. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτι σπουδῇ πορευόμενος, ὡς ἤκουσεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατακεκλεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτον ἱππεῖς ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ τὴν δευτέραν κατάληψιν ἀπαγγέλλοντες· ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ὑπεναντιουμένων ἔνιοι
2 παρῆσαν ἐπείγεσθαι δεόμενοι. συντείνοντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ μᾶλλον Ἡρακλείδης τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐξέπεμψεν, εἶτα Θεοδότην τὸν θεῖον, ἱκετεύων ἀρήγειν, ὡς μηδενὸς ἀντέχοντος τοῖς πολεμίοις, αὐτοῦ δὲ τετρωμένου, τῆς δὲ πόλεως μικρὸν ἀπεχούσης ἀνατετράφθαι καὶ καταπεπρῆσθαι. τοιούτων ἀγγελμάτων τῷ Δίωνι προσπεσόντων ἔτι μὲν ἑξήκοντα σταδίους τῶν πυλῶν ἀπεῖχε· φράσας δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον τοῖς ξένοις καὶ παρακελευσάμενος οὐκέτι βάδην ἦγεν, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ τὸ στράτευμα 978
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀντιαζόντων
3 καὶ δεομένων ἐπείγεσθαι. χρησάμενος δὲ θαυμαστῷ τάχει καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῶν ξένων εἰσέβαλε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑκατόμπεδον λεγομένην· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐλαφροὺς εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς

stalling the succour which Dion was bringing, resorted to the speediest destruction and annihilation of everything by burning, setting fire to what was near them with the brands and torches in their hands, and scattering fiery arrows from their bows among the remoter parts. As the Syracusans fled, some were overtaken and slain in the streets, and those who sought cover in their houses were driven out again by the fire, many buildings being now ablaze and falling upon those who were running about.

XLV. Owing to this disaster more than to any thing else, the city was thrown open to Dion by unanimous consent. For he was no longer marching in haste, since he had heard that the enemy had shut themselves up in the acropolis. But as the day advanced, first, horsemen met him with tidings of the second capture of the city; next, even some of his opponents came with entreaties that he would hasten his march. Moreover, as the mischief grew worse, Heracleides sent out his brother, and then Theodotes his uncle, begging Dion to help them, since no one now resisted the enemy, he himself was wounded, and the city was almost demolished and consumed by fire. When these amazing messages reached Dion, he was still sixty furlongs distant from the city gates; but after telling his mercenaries of the city's peril and exhorting them, he led his army towards the city, no longer in marching step, but on the run, while one messenger after another met him and begged him to hasten. His mercenaries advancing with astonishing speed and ardour, he burst through the gates into what was called the Hecatompedon, and at once sent his light-armed troops to charge upon the enemy, in order

τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἰδοῦσι θαρσῆσαι τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἐγγένοιτο, τοὺς δ' ὁπλίτας αὐτὸς συνέταττε καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ἐπιρρέοντας καὶ συνισταμένους, ὀρθίους λόχους ποιῶν καὶ διαιρῶν τὰς ἡγεμονίας, ὅπως πολλαχόθεν ἅμα προσφέροιτο φοβερώτερον.

XLVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα παρασκευασάμενος καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς προσευξάμενος ὤφθη διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, κραυγὴ καὶ χαρὰ καὶ πολὺς ἀλαλαγμὸς εὐχαῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ παρακλήσεσι μεμιγμένος ἐγίνετο παρὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων, τὸν μὲν Δίωνα σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν ἀποκαλούντων, τοὺς
2 δὲ ξένους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πολίτας. οὐδεὶς δὲ φίλαυτος οὕτως[1] ἦν καὶ φιλόψυχος παρὰ τὸν τότε καιρὸν ὃς οὐ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ μόνου Δίωνος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀγωνιῶν ἐφαίνετο, πρώτου πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον πορευομένου δι' αἵματος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ νεκρῶν πολλῶν κειμένων ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων φοβερὰ παντάπασιν ἀπηγριωμένων καὶ παρατεταγμένων παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα χαλεπὴν ἔχον καὶ δυσεκβίαστον τὴν πρόσοδον· ὁ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς κίνδυνος ἐτάραττε μᾶλλον τοὺς ξένους καὶ δύσεργον ἐποίει
3 τὴν πορείαν. κύκλῳ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς περιελάμποντο τὰς οἰκίας περινεμομένης· καὶ διαπύροις ἐπιβαίνοντες ἐρειπίοις καὶ καταφερομένοις ἀπορρήγμασι μεγάλοις ὑποτρέχοντες ἐπισφαλῶς, καὶ πολὺν ὁμοῦ καπνῷ διαπορευόμενοι κονιορτόν, ἐπειρῶντο συνέχειν καὶ μὴ διασπᾶν τὴν τάξιν. ὡς δὲ προσέμιξαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐν χερσὶ μὲν

[1] φίλαυτος οὕτως Coraës, after Reiske (οὕτως φίλαυτος Bekker): φίλαυτος.

that the Syracusans might take courage at the sight; he also marshalled his men-at-arms in person, together with those of the citizens who kept running up and forming with them, dividing his commands and forming companies in column, that he might make a more formidable attack from many points at once.

XLVI. When he had made these preparations and had prayed to the gods, and was seen leading his forces through the city against the enemy, shouts of joy and loud battle-cries mingled with prayers and supplications were raised by the Syracusans, who called Dion their saviour and god, and his mercenaries their brethren and fellow citizens. And no one was so fond of self or fond of life in that emergency as not to show himself more anxious about Dion alone than about all the rest, as he marched at their head to meet the danger, through blood and fire and the mass of dead bodies lying in the streets.

It was true, indeed, that the enemy presented a formidable appearance, for they had become altogether savage, and had drawn themselves up along the demolished siege-wall, which made the approach to them difficult and hard to force; but the peril from the fire disturbed the mercenaries of Dion more, and made their progress arduous. For they were surrounded on all sides by glowing flames which were spreading among the houses; they trod upon blazing ruins and ran at the risk of their lives under falling fragments of great size; they made their way through clouds of dust and smoke; and yet they tried to keep together and not break their ranks. Moreover, when they joined battle with the

ὀλίγων πρὸς ὀλίγους ἐγίνετο μάχη διὰ τὴν στενότητα καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τοῦ τόπου, κραυγῇ δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐπιρρωσάντων
4 *ἐβιάσθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νύψιον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ἀναφεῦγον ἐσώζετο· τοὺς δ' ἀπολειφθέντας ἔξω καὶ διασπαρέντας ἀνῄρουν οἱ ξένοι διώκοντες. ἀπόλαυσιν δὲ τῆς νίκης ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα καὶ χαρὰν καὶ περιβολὰς ἔργῳ τηλικούτῳ πρεπούσας οὐ παρέσχεν ὁ καιρός, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τραπομένων τῶν Συρακουσίων καὶ τὸ πῦρ μόλις ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κατασβεσάντων.*

XLVII. *Ἡμέρα δ' ὡς ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε δημαγωγῶν, ἀλλὰ καταγνόντες ἑαυτῶν ἔφυγον, Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Θεοδότης αὐτοὶ κομίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Δίωνι παρέδωκαν, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ δεόμενοι βελτίονος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν ἢ γεγόνασιν αὐτοὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνον· πρέπειν δὲ Δίωνι τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν ἀσύγκριτον ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν κρείττονι φανῆναι τῶν ἠγνωμονηκότων, οἳ περὶ οὗ πρότερον ἐστασίασαν πρὸς αὐτὸν νῦν ἥκουσιν ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς*
2 *ὁμολογοῦντες. ταῦτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην δεομένων οἱ μὲν φίλοι παρεκελεύοντο τῷ Δίωνι μὴ φείδεσθαι κακῶν καὶ βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις χαρίσασθαι τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐξελεῖν δημοκοπίαν, ἐπιμανὲς νόσημα, τυραννίδος οὐκ ἔλαττον. ὁ δὲ Δίων παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὡς τοῖς*

enemy, only a few on each side could fight at close quarters, so narrow and uneven was the place; but the Syracusans encouraged them with eager shouts, and Nypsius and his men were overpowered. Most of them fled back into the acropolis, which was near, and so saved themselves; but those who were left outside and scattered hither and thither, were pursued and slain by the mercenaries. No immediate enjoyment of their victory, however, and none of the glad congratulations befitting so great an achievement were possible for the Syracusans in that emergency; they turned their attention to their burning houses, and only by toiling all night did they succeed in putting out the fire.

XLVII. When it was day, not one of the other popular leaders would remain in the city, but passed judgement on themselves by taking to flight; Heracleides and Theodotes, however, came of their own accord and surrendered themselves to Dion, acknowledging that they had done wrong, and begging him to treat them better than they had treated him; it was meet, they said, that Dion, who was their superior in every other virtue, should also show himself a better master of his anger than his ungrateful foes, who were now come confessing that in the very quality to which they had formerly disputed his claim, namely, virtue, they were his inferiors. Though Heracleides and Theodotes thus besought Dion, his friends exhorted him not to spare such base and envious men, but to give Heracleides over to the mercy of his soldiers, and to rid the commonwealth of the hunt for mob-favour, which, no less than tyranny, was a raging distemper. But Dion tried to soften their resentment, saying that while other

μὲν ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ πόλεμον ἡ
πλείστη τῆς ἀσκήσεώς ἐστιν, αὐτῷ δὲ πολὺν
χρόνον ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ μεμελέτηται θυμοῦ περι-
εῖναι καὶ φθόνου καὶ φιλονεικίας πάσης· ὧν ἐπί-
δειξίς ἐστιν οὐχ ἡ πρὸς φίλους καὶ χρηστοὺς
μετριότης, ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀδικούμενος εὐπαραίτητος
3 εἴη καὶ πρᾷος τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι· βούλεσθαι δ'
Ἡρακλείδου μὴ τοσοῦτον δυνάμει καὶ φρονήσει 979
κρατῶν ὅσον χρηστότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ φανῆναι·
τὸ γὰρ ἀληθῶς βέλτιον ἐν τούτοις· αἱ δὲ τοῦ
πολέμου κατορθώσεις, εἰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων μηδένα,
τήν γε τύχην διαμφισβητοῦσαν ἔχουσιν. εἰ δ'
Ἡρακλείδης ἄπιστος καὶ κακὸς διὰ φθόνον, οὔ
τοι καὶ Δίωνα δεῖν θυμῷ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ἀρετήν·
τὸ γὰρ ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι τοῦ προαδικεῖν νόμῳ
δικαιότερον ὡρίσθαι, φύσει γινόμενον ἀπὸ μιᾶς
4 ἀσθενείας. ἀνθρώπου δὲ κακίαν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπόν
ἐστιν, οὐχ οὕτως ἄγριον εἶναι παντάπασι καὶ
δύσκολον ὥστε μὴ μεταβάλλειν χάριτι νικηθεῖσαν
ὑπὸ τῶν πολλάκις εὖ ποιούντων.

XLVIII. Τοιούτοις χρησάμενος λογισμοῖς ὁ
Δίων ἀφῆκε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην. τραπό-
μενος δὲ πρὸς τὸ διατείχισμα, τῶν μὲν Συρα-
κουσίων ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσεν ἕνα κόψαντα σταυρὸν
ἐγγὺς καταβάλλειν, τοὺς δὲ ξένους ἐπιστήσας διὰ
νυκτός, ἀναπαυομένων τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἔλαθεν
ἀποσταυρώσας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὥστε μεθ' ἡμέραν
τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν θεασαμένους ὁμοίως
2 θαυμάζειν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. θά-
ψας δὲ τοὺς τεθνηκότας τῶν Συρακουσίων καὶ
λυσάμενος τοὺς ἑαλωκότας, δισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάτ-

generals trained themselves mostly for arms and war, he himself had studied for a long time in the Academy how to conquer anger, envy, and all contentiousness; and it was no manifestation of such self-mastery, he said, when one was kind to friends and benefactors, but when one who had been wronged was merciful and mild towards the erring; besides, he wished men to see that he was superior to Heracleides, not so much in power and wisdom, as in goodness and justice; for therein lay real superiority; whereas successes in war, even though they had to be shared with no man, must at least be shared with fortune. Moreover, if envy led Heracleides to be faithless and base, surely anger must not drive Dion to sully his virtue; for although taking vengeance for a wrong was in the eyes of the law more just than the doing of the wrong unprovoked, by nature it sprang from one and the same weakness. Furthermore, baseness in a man, even though it be a grievous thing, was not so altogether savage and obstinate that it could not be conquered by frequent benefactions and altered by a sense of gratitude.

XLVIII. After using such arguments as these, Dion set Heracleides and Theodotes free. Then turning his attention to the siege-wall, he bade each one of the Syracusans to cut a stake and lay it down near the works, and setting his mercenaries to the task all night, while the Syracusans were resting, he succeeded in fencing off the acropolis, so that when day came the citizens and the enemy alike were amazed to see with what speed the work had been accomplished. He also buried the dead Syracusans, ransomed those who had been taken prisoners, although they were fully two thousand in number,

τονας ὄντας, ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγε. καὶ παρελθὼν Ἡρακλείδης εἰσηγήσατο γνώμην αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγὸν ἑλέσθαι Δίωνα κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν. ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ χειροτονεῖν κελευόντων ἐθορύβησεν ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος καὶ βάναυσος, ἀχθόμενος ἐκπίπτοντι τῆς ναυαρχίας τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ, καὶ νομίζων αὐτόν, εἰ καὶ τἆλλα μηδενὸς ἄξιός ἐστι, δημοτικώτερόν γε πάντως εἶναι τοῦ Δίωνος καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῖς
3 πολλοῖς. ὁ δὲ Δίων τοῦτο μὲν ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ, πρὸς δὲ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν τὸν ἀναδασμὸν ὡρμημένοις ἐναντιωθεὶς καὶ τὰ πρότερον ψηφισθέντα περὶ τούτων ἀκυρώσας ἐλύπησεν. ὅθεν εὐθὺς ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης τοὺς συνεκπλεύσαντας μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ ναύτας ἐν Μεσσήνῃ καθήμενος ἐδημαγώγει καὶ παρώξυνε κατὰ τοῦ Δίωνος ὡς τυραννεῖν μέλλοντος· αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐποιεῖτο συνθή-
4 κας κρύφα διὰ Φάρακος τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου. καὶ τοῦτο τῶν γνωριμωτάτων Συρακουσίων ὑπονοησάντων, στάσις ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀπορία καὶ σπάνις ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις, ὥστε παντάπασιν ἀμηχανεῖν τὸν Δίωνα καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων οὕτω δυσμεταχείριστον ἄνθρωπον καὶ διεφθαρμένον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ πονηρίας αὐξήσαντα καθ' αὑτοῦ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην.

XLIX. Φάρακος δὲ πρὸς Νέᾳ πόλει τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνης στρατοπεδεύοντος, ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐν ἑτέρῳ καιρῷ διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἡρακλείδου δὲ καὶ τῶν

and then held an assembly. Here Heracleides came forward with a motion that Dion should be chosen general with absolute powers by land and sea. The aristocracy approved of this motion and urged the appointment; but the mob of sailors and day-labourers tumultuously opposed it, being vexed that Heracleides should lose his office of admiral, and considering him, even though good for nothing in other ways, at least altogether more a man of the people than Dion and more under the control of the multitude. This point Dion yielded to them, and restored the command by sea to Heracleides; but when they insisted upon the redistribution of land and houses, he opposed them and repealed their former decrees on this head, thereby winning their displeasure. Wherefore Heracleides at once renewed his machinations, and, when he was stationed at Messana, artfully tried to exasperate against Dion the soldiers and sailors who had sailed thither with him, declaring that Dion intended to make himself tyrant; but he himself was all the while making secret compacts with Dionysius through the agency of Pharax the Spartan. When this was suspected by the better class of Syracusans, there was dissension in the army, and therefore perplexity and want of provisions in Syracuse, so that Dion was altogether at a loss what to do, and was blamed by his friends for having strengthened against himself a man so perverse and so corrupted by envy and baseness as Heracleides was.

XLIX. Now, Pharax was encamped at Neapolis, in the territory of Agrigentum, and thither Dion led forth the Syracusans. Dion wished to settle the issue between them at a later opportunity, but

ναυτῶν καταβοώντων ὡς οὐ βούλεται μάχῃ κρῖναι
τὸν πόλεμον Δίων, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ μένοντος ἄρχειν,
2 ἀναγκασθεὶς συνέβαλε καὶ ἡττήθη. γενομένης δὲ
τῆς τροπῆς οὐ βαρείας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν
καὶ τοῦ στασιάζειν ταραχθέντων, αὖθις ὁ Δίων
παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι καὶ συνέταττε πείθων
καὶ παραθαρρύνων. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης
ἀγγέλλεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἄραντα τὸν
στόλον πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακουσῶν, ἐγνωκότα τὴν
πόλιν καταλαβεῖν κἀκεῖνον ἀποκλεῖσαι μετὰ τοῦ
3 στρατεύματος. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς δυνα-
τωτάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους ἱππάσατο διὰ τῆς
νυκτός· καὶ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας πρὸς
ταῖς πύλαις ἦν, σταδίους κατηνυκὼς ἑπτακοσίους.
Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ταῖς ναυσίν, ὡς ἁμιλλώμενος 980
ὑστέρησεν, ἀποπλεύσας καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν ταῖς
πράξεσιν ἀσκόπως ἐπιτυγχάνει Γαισύλῳ τῷ
Σπαρτιάτῃ, φάσκοντι πλεῖν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ Σικε-
λιωτῶν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὡς πρότερόν ποτε
4 Γύλιππος. ἄσμενος οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τοῦτον τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ περιαψάμενος ὥσπερ ἀλεξιφάρμακον
τοῦ Δίωνος ἐπεδείκνυτο τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ
κήρυκα πέμπων εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐκέλευε δέ-
χεσθαι τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἄρχοντα τοὺς πολίτας.
ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος ὡς εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες
ἱκανοὶ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, εἰ δὲ πάντως δέοι καὶ
Σπαρτιάτου τοῖς πράγμασιν, αὐτὸς οὗτος εἶναι,
5 κατὰ ποίησιν γεγονὼς Σπαρτιάτης, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν
ὁ Γαίσυλος ἀπέγνω, πλεύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα

Heracleides and his sailors kept crying out against him, saying that his wish was not to decide the war by a battle, but to have it last forever, that he might remain in power. He was therefore forced into an engagement, and was worsted. Since, however, the defeat of his men was not severe, but due more to their own seditious disorders than to the enemy, Dion again prepared for battle and drew up his forces, persuading and encouraging them. But in the evening word was brought to him that Heracleides with his fleet was sailing for Syracuse, determined to occupy the city and shut Dion and his army out of it. Immediately, therefore, he took with him his most influential and zealous supporters and rode all night, and about nine o'clock next day was at the gates of the city, having covered seven hundred furlongs. But Heracleides, who, in spite of all his efforts, arrived too late with his ships, put out to sea again, and being without definite plans, fell in with Gaesylus the Spartan, who insisted that he was sailing from Sparta to take command of the Sicilians, as Gylippus had formerly done.[1] Heracleides, accordingly, gladly took up this man, attached him to himself like an amulet, as it were, against the influence of Dion, and showed him to his confederates; then, secretly sending a herald to Syracuse, he ordered the citizens to receive their Spartan commander. Dion, however, made answer that the Syracusans had commanders enough, and that if their situation absolutely required a Spartan also, he himself was the man, since he had been made a citizen of Sparta. Thereupon Gaesylus gave up his pretensions to the command, and sailing to

[1] See the *Nicias*, chapters xix. ff.

διήλλαξε τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὅρκους δόντα καὶ πίστεις τὰς μεγίστας, αἷς αὐτὸς ὁ Γαίσυλος ὤμοσε τιμωρὸς ἔσεσθαι Δίωνι καὶ κολαστὴς Ἡρακλείδου κακοπραγμονοῦντος.

L. Ἐκ τούτου κατέλυσαν μὲν οἱ Συρακούσιοι τὸ ναυτικόν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἔργον αὐτοῦ, μεγάλαι δὲ δαπάναι τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ στάσεως ἀφορμαὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι· τὴν δὲ ἄκραν ἐπολιόρκουν ἐξοικοδομήσαντες τὸ περιτείχισμα. μηδενὸς δὲ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις βοηθοῦντος, ἐπιλιπόντος δὲ σίτου, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων γινομένων πονηρῶν, ἀπογνοὺς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰ πράγματα καὶ σπεισάμενος πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα τὴν μὲν ἄκραν ἐκείνῳ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς παρέ-
2 δωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ πέντε πληρωσάμενος τριήρεις ἐξέπλει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, τοῦ Δίωνος ἀσφαλῶς μὲν ἐκπέμποντος, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἀπολείποντος ἐκείνην τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μὴ παρόντας ἐπιβοωμένων, ὅτι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐλευθέραις ἀνίσχοντα ταῖς Συρα-
3 κούσαις οὐκ ἐφορῶσιν. ὅπου γὰρ ἔτι νῦν τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τῆς τύχης παραδειγμάτων ἐμφανέστατόν ἐστι καὶ μέγιστον ἡ Διονυσίου φυγή, τίνα χρὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὴν τότε χαρὰν γενέσθαι καὶ πηλίκον φρονῆσαι τοὺς τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πώποτε τυραννίδων καθελόντας ἐλαχίσταις ἀφορμαῖς;

LI. Ἐκπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλοκράτους, καὶ τοῦ Δίωνος εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν βαδίζοντος, οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησαν αἱ γυναῖκες οὐδ' ἀνέμειναν εἰσελθεῖν

Dion, effected a reconciliation between him and Heracleides, who took oaths and made the most solemn pledges, in support of which Gaesylus himself swore that he would avenge Dion and punish Heracleides if he worked any more mischief.

L. After this the Syracusans discharged their fleet, since it was of no use, while it involved great outlays for the crews, and caused dissension among their commanders; they also laid siege to the citadel after they had finished building the wall that enclosed it. No one came to the help of the besieged, provisions failed them, and the mercenaries became mutinous, so that the son of Dionysius gave up his cause for lost and made terms with Dion. The citadel he handed over to him together with the arms and other equipment there, while he himself, taking his mother and sisters and manning five triremes, sailed away to his father. Dion allowed him to depart in safety, and no one who was then in Syracuse missed that sight, nay, they called upon the absent ones also, pitying them because they could not behold this day and the rising of the sun upon a free Syracuse. For since, among the illustrations men give of the mutations of fortune, the expulsion of Dionysius is still to this day the strongest and plainest, what joy must we suppose those men themselves then felt, and how great a pride, who, with the fewest resources, overthrew the greatest tyranny that ever was!

LI. After Apollocrates had sailed away, and when Dion was on his way to the acropolis, the women could not restrain themselves nor await his entrance,

αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἐξέδραμον, ἡ μὲν Ἀριστομάχη τὸν υἱὸν ἄγουσα τοῦ Δίωνος, ἡ δ' Ἀρέτη κατόπιν εἵπετο δακρύουσα, καὶ διαποροῦσα πῶς ἀσπάσηται καὶ προσείπῃ τὸν ἄνδρα
2 κοινωνίας αὐτῇ πρὸς ἕτερον γεγενημένης. ἀσπασαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τὴν ἀδελφήν, εἶτα τὸ παιδίον, ἡ Ἀριστομάχη προσαγαγοῦσα τὴν Ἀρέτην, "Ἠτυχοῦμεν, ὦ Δίων," ἔφη, "σοῦ φεύγοντος· ἥκων δὲ καὶ νικῶν ἀφῄρηκας ἡμῶν ἁπάντων τὰς κατηφείας, πλὴν μόνης ταύτης, ἣν ἐπεῖδον ἡ δυστυχὴς ἐγὼ σοῦ ζῶντος ἑτέρῳ συνελθεῖν βιασθεῖσαν. ὅτε οὖν σὲ κύριον ἡμῶν ἡ τύχη πεποίηκε, πῶς αὐτῇ διαιτᾷς ἐκείνην τὴν ἀνάγκην; πότερον ὡς θεῖον ἢ καὶ ὡς ἄνδρα σε ἀσπάσεται;"
3 τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἀριστομάχης λεγούσης ὁ Δίων ἐκδακρύσας προσηγάγετο φιλοστόργως τὴν γυναῖκα· καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτῇ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὑτοῦ βαδίζειν, ὅπου καὶ αὐτὸς διῃτᾶτο, τὴν ἄκραν ἐπὶ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ποιησάμενος.

LII. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκότων οὐδὲν ἀπολαῦσαι πρότερον ἠξίωσε τῆς παρούσης εὐτυχίας ἢ τὸ καὶ φίλοις χάριτας καὶ συμμάχοις δωρεάς, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει συνήθεσι καὶ ξένοις ἀπονεῖμαί τινα φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τιμῆς μερίδα, τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τὴν δύναμιν
2 ὑπερβαλλόμενος. ἑαυτὸν δὲ λιτῶς καὶ σωφρόνως ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων διῴκει, θαυμαζόμενος ὅτι, μὴ μόνον Σικελίας τε καὶ Καρχηδόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς 981
Ἑλλάδος ὅλης ἀποβλεπούσης πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐημεροῦντα, καὶ μηδὲν οὕτω μέγα τῶν τότε νομιζόν-

but ran out to the gates, Aristomache leading Dion's son, while Arete followed after them in tears, and at a loss how to greet and address her husband now that she had lived with another man. After Dion had greeted his sister first, and then his little son, Aristomache led Arete to him, and said: "We were unhappy, Dion, while thou wast in exile; but now that thou art come and art victorious, thou hast taken away our sorrow from all of us, except from this woman alone, whom I was so unfortunate as to see forced to wed another while thou wast still alive. Since, then, fortune has made thee our lord and master, how wilt thou judge of the compulsion laid upon her? Is it as her uncle or as her husband that she is to greet thee?" So spake Aristomache, and Dion, bursting into tears, embraced his wife fondly, gave her his son, and bade her go to his own house; and there he himself also dwelt, after he had put the citadel in charge of the Syracusans.

LII. And now that his enterprise had been so successful, he thought it not right to enjoy his present good fortune before distributing thanks to his friends, rewards to his allies, and particularly to his Athenian associates and to his mercenaries some mark of kindness and honour, his generosity leading him beyond his resources. But as for himself, he lived with simplicity and moderation on what he had, and men wondered at him because, while his successes drew upon him the eyes not only of Sicily and Carthage, but also of all Hellas, and while he was regarded by the people of that time as the

των, μηδ' ἐπιφανεστέρας περὶ ἄλλον ἡγεμόνα τόλμης καὶ τύχης γεγονέναι δοκούσης, οὕτω παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν ἐσθῆτι καὶ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τραπέζῃ μέτριον, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ συσσιτῶν μετὰ Πλάτωνος, οὐκ ἐν ξεναγοῖς καὶ μισθοφόροις διαιτώμενος, οἷς αἱ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πλησμοναὶ καὶ ἀπολαύσεις παραμυθία τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν
3 κινδύνων εἰσίν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν Πλάτων ἔγραφεν ὡς πρὸς ἕνα νῦν τῆς οἰκουμένης τοῦτον ἅπαντες ἀποβλέπουσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀφεώρα πρὸς ἓν χωρίον μιᾶς πόλεως, τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι καὶ θεατὰς καὶ δικαστὰς ἐγίνωσκεν οὔτε πρᾶξιν οὔτε τόλμαν οὔτε νίκην τινὰ θαυμάζοντας, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰ κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως τῇ τύχῃ χρῆται καὶ παρέχει μέτριον ἑαυτὸν
4 ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἀποσκοποῦντας. τοῦ μέντοι περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας ὄγκου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀτενοῦς ἐφιλονείκει μηδὲν ὑφελεῖν μηδὲ χαλάσαι, καίτοι τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ χάριτος ἐνδεῶν ὄντων, καὶ Πλάτωνος ἐπιτιμῶντος, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, καὶ γράφοντος ὅτι ἡ αὐθάδεια ἐρημίᾳ σύνοικός ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ φύσει τε φαίνεται πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν δυσκεράστῳ κεχρημένος, ἀντισπᾶν τε τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἄγαν ἀνειμένους καὶ διατεθρυμμένους προθυμούμενος.

LIII. Ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης αὖθις ἐπέκειτο· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς συνέδριον παρακαλούμενος οὐκ ἐβούλετο βαδίζειν· ἰδιώτης γὰρ ὢν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιάζειν πολιτῶν. ἔπειτα κατηγόρει

greatest of living men, and was thought to be blessed with courage and good fortune beyond any other commander, he was nevertheless so modest in his dress, his attendance, and his table, just as though he were messing with Plato in the Academy, and not living among captains of mercenaries and paid soldiers, who find in their daily feastings, and other enjoyments, a solace for their toils and perils. Plato, indeed, wrote to him[1] that the eyes of all the world were now fixed upon him alone, but Dion himself, as it would seem, kept his eyes fixed upon one spot in one city, namely, the Academy, and considered that his spectators and judges there admired neither great exploits nor boldness nor victories, but watched to see only whether he made a discreet and decorous use of his good fortune, and showed himself modest in his high estate. Nevertheless, he made it a point not to remit or relax at all the gravity of his manners or his haughtiness in dealing with the people, although his situation called for a gracious demeanour, and although Plato, as I have said,[2] wrote and warned him that self-will was "a companion of solitude." But he seems to have been of a temper naturally averse to graciousness, and, besides, he was ambitious to curb the Syracusans, who were given to excessive license and luxury.

LIII. For Heracleides once more set himself in opposition to him. To begin with, when he was invited by Dion to attend the council, he refused to come, saying that as a man in private station he would meet in assembly with the other citizens.

[1] *Epist.* iv. p. 320: *ὥστε τοὺς ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰς ἕνα τόπον ἀποβλέπειν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα πρὸς σέ.*

[2] In chapter viii. 3.

τοῦ Δίωνος ὅτι τὴν ἄκραν οὐ κατέσκαψε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν Διονυσίου τάφον ὡρμημένῳ λῦσαι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκβαλεῖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε, μεταπέμπεται δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου συμβούλους καὶ συνάρχοντας,
2 *ἀπαξιῶν τοὺς πολίτας. τῷ δ' ὄντι μετεπέμπετο τοὺς Κορινθίους ὁ Δίων, ᾗν ἐπενόει πολιτείαν ῥᾷον ἐλπίζων καταστήσειν ἐκείνων παραγενομένων. ἐπενόει δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄκρατον δημοκρατίαν, ὡς οὐ πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ παντοπώλιον οὖσαν πολιτειῶν, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, κωλύειν, Λακωνικὸν δέ τι καὶ Κρητικὸν σχῆμα μιξάμενος ἐκ δήμου καὶ βασιλείας, ἀριστοκρατίαν ἔχον τὴν ἐπιστατοῦσαν καὶ βραβεύουσαν τὰ μέγιστα, καθιστάναι καὶ κοσμεῖν, ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ὀλιγαρχικώτερόν τε πολιτευομένους καὶ μὴ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πράττοντας.*

3 *Ὡς οὖν μάλιστα πρὸς ταῦτα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἐναντιώσεσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ τἆλλα ταραχώδης καὶ εὐμετάθετος καὶ στασιαστικὸς ἦν, οὓς πάλαι βουλομένους αὐτὸν ἐκώλυεν ἀνελεῖν, τούτοις ἐπέτρεψε τότε· καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν*
4 *ἀποκτιννύουσιν αὐτόν. ἐλύπησε δὲ σφόδρα τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀποθανών. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος ταφάς τε λαμπρὰς παρασκευάσαντος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἑπομένου προπέμψαντος τὸν νεκρόν, εἶτα διαλεχθέντος αὐτοῖς, συνέγνωσαν ὡς οὐ δυνατὸν ἦν ταρασσομένην παύσασθαι τὴν πόλιν Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Δίωνος ἅμα πολιτευομένων.*

Next, he publicly denounced Dion for not demolishing the citadel, and for checking the people when they set out to open the tomb of Dionysius and cast out his dead body, and for sending to Corinth for counsellors and colleagues in the government, thereby showing contempt for his fellow citizens. And in fact Dion did send for assistance to the Corinthians, hoping the more easily to establish the civil polity which he had in mind if they were at his side. And he had it in mind to put a curb upon unmixed democracy in Syracuse, regarding it as not a civil polity, but rather, in the words of Plato,[1] a "bazaar of polities"; also to establish and set in order a mixture of democracy and royalty, somewhat after the Spartan and Cretan fashion, wherein an aristocracy should preside, and administer the most important affairs; for he saw that the Corinthians had a polity which leaned towards oligarchy, and that they transacted little public business in their assembly of the people.

Accordingly, since he expected that these measures would find their chief opponent in Heracleides, and since the man was in every way turbulent, fickle, and seditious, he now yielded to those who had long wished to kill him, but whom he had hitherto restrained; so they made their way into the house of Heracleides and slew him. His death was keenly resented by the Syracusans; but nevertheless, when Dion gave him a splendid funeral, followed the body to its grave with his army, and then discoursed to them upon the matter, they came to see that it was impossible for the city to be free from tumults while Heracleides and Dion together conducted its affairs.

[1] *Republic*, viii. p. 557 d.

LIV. Ἦν δέ τις ἑταῖρος τοῦ Δίωνος ἐξ Ἀθη-
νῶν, Κάλλιππος, ὅν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων οὐκ ἀπὸ
παιδείας, ἀλλ' ἐκ μυσταγωγιῶν καὶ τῆς περιτρε-
χούσης ἑταιρείας γνώριμον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ
συνήθη, μετασχὼν δὲ τῆς στρατείας καὶ τιμώ-
μενος, ὥστε καὶ συνεισελθεῖν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας
πρῶτος τῶν ἑταίρων ἁπάντων, ἐστεφανωμένος καὶ
2 λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ διάσημος. ἐπεὶ δέ,
τῶν πρώτων καὶ βελτίστων φίλων τοῦ Δίωνος
ἀνηλωμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τεθνηκότος 982
Ἡρακλείδου, τόν τε δῆμον ἑώρα τῶν Συρακουσίων
ἔρημον ἡγεμόνος ὄντα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς
μετὰ Δίωνος προσέχοντας αὐτῷ μάλιστα, μιαρώ-
τατος ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ παντάπασιν ἐλπί-
σας Σικελίαν ἆθλον ἕξειν τῆς ξενοκτονίας, ὡς δέ
φασιν ἔνιοι, καὶ τάλαντα προσλαβὼν εἴκοσι τοῦ
φόνου μισθὸν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, διέφθειρε καὶ
παρεσκεύαζέ τινας τῶν ξένων ἐπὶ τὸν Δίωνα,
κακοηθεστάτην ἀρχὴν καὶ πανουργοτάτην ποιη-
3 σάμενος. ἀεὶ γάρ τινας φωνὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἢ λελεγμένας ἀληθῶς ἀναφέρων ἢ
πεπλασμένας ὑφ' αὑτοῦ, τοιαύτην ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβε
διὰ τὴν πίστιν ὥστ' ἐντυγχάνειν κρύφα καὶ δια-
λέγεσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας οἷς βούλοιτο κατὰ τοῦ
Δίωνος, αὐτοῦ κελεύοντος, ἵνα μηδὲ εἷς λανθάνῃ
4 τῶν ὑπούλως καὶ δυσμενῶς ἐχόντων. ἐκ δὲ τού-
των συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς καὶ νοσοῦντας
εὑρίσκειν ταχὺ καὶ συνιστάναι τὸν Κάλλιππον,
εἰ δέ τις ἀπωσάμενος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν
πεῖραν ἐξείποι πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα, μὴ ταράττεσθαι

LIV. Now, there was a certain comrade of Dion's named Callippus, an Athenian, who, as Plato says,[1] had become intimately acquainted with him, not as a fellow pupil in philosophy, but in consequence of initiation into the mysteries and the recurrent comradeship which this brought. He took part in Dion's expedition and was held in honour by him, so that he even entered Syracuse with him at the head of all his comrades, with a garland on his head, after winning glorious distinction in battle. But now that the chief and noblest friends of Dion had been consumed away by the war, and Heracleides was dead, he saw that the people of Syracuse were without a leader, and that he himself was very much in favour with Dion's soldiers. Therefore, showing himself the vilest of men, and altogether expecting that he would have Sicily as a reward for murdering his friend, and, as some say, having received twenty talents from the enemy to pay him for doing the murder, he bribed some of Dion's mercenaries into a conspiracy against him, beginning his work in a most malicious and rascally manner. For he was always reporting to Dion various speeches of his soldiers against him, either actually uttered or fabricated by himself, and in this way won his confidence, and was authorized to meet secretly with whom he would and talk freely with them against Dion, in order that no lurking malcontents might remain undiscovered. By this means Callippus succeeded in quickly discovering and banding together the evil-minded and discontented citizens, and, whenever any one who had repulsed his overtures told Dion about them, Dion

[1] *Epist.* vi. p. 333.

μηδὲ χαλεπαίνειν ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ἃ προσέταττε τοῦ Καλλίππου περαίνοντος.

LV. Συνισταμένης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φάσμα γίνεται τῷ Δίωνι μέγα καὶ τερατῶδες. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καθεζόμενος ἐν παστάδι τῆς οἰκίας μόνος ὢν πρὸς ἑαυτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν· ἐξαίφνης δὲ ψόφου γενομένου πρὸς θατέρῳ πέρατι τῆς στοᾶς, ἀποβλέψας ἔτι φωτὸς ὄντος εἶδε γυναῖκα μεγάλην, στολῇ μὲν καὶ προσώπῳ μηδὲν Ἐριννύος τραγικῆς παραλλάττουσαν, σαίρουσαν
2 δὲ καλλύντρῳ τινὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ δεινῶς καὶ περίφοβος γενόμενος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς φίλους καὶ διηγεῖτο τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῖς καὶ παραμένειν ἐδεῖτο καὶ συννυκτερεύειν, παντάπασιν ἐκστατικῶς ἔχων καὶ δεδοικὼς μὴ πάλιν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ μονωθέντι τὸ τέρας ἀφίκηται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὖθις οὐ συνέπεσε. μεθ' ἡμέρας δ' ὀλίγας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἀντίπαις ὤν, ἔκ τινος λύπης καὶ ὀργῆς μικρὰν καὶ παιδικὴν ἀρχὴν λαβούσης, ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ διεφθάρη.

LVI. Ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος ὄντος, ὁ Κάλλιππος ἔτι μᾶλλον εἴχετο τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ λόγον εἰς τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐξέδωκεν ὡς ὁ Δίων, ἄπαις γεγονώς, ἔγνωκε τὸν Διονυσίου καλεῖν Ἀπολλοκράτην καὶ ποιεῖσθαι διάδοχον, ἀδελφιδοῦν μὲν ὄντα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, θυγατριδοῦν δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸν Δίωνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑπόνοια τῶν πραττομένων εἶχε,
2 καὶ μηνύσεις ἐγίγνοντο πανταχόθεν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Δίων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἀχθόμενος, καὶ τὸν φόνον ἐκεῖνον, ὥς τινα τοῦ

was not disturbed nor vexed, but assumed that Callippus was merely carrying out his injunctions.

LV. As the plot was ripening, Dion saw an apparition of great size and portentous aspect. He was sitting late in the day in the vestibule of his house, alone and lost in thought, when suddenly a noise was heard at the other end of the colonnade, and turning his gaze in that direction he saw (for it was not yet dark) a woman of lofty stature, in garb and countenance exactly like a tragic Fury, sweeping the house with a sort of broom. He was terribly shocked, and, becoming apprehensive, summoned his friends, told them what he had seen, and begged them to remain and spend the night with him, being altogether beside himself, and fearing that if he were left alone the portent would appear to him again. This, indeed, did not occur a second time. But a few days afterwards his son, who was hardly a boy any more, in a fit of angry displeasure caused by some trivial and childish grievance, threw himself headlong from the roof and was killed.

LVI. While Dion was thus heavily afflicted, Callippus was all the more intent upon his plot, and spread a report among the Syracusans that Dion, being now childless, had made up his mind to send for Apollocrates, the son of Dionysius, and make him his successor, since he was his wife's nephew and his sister's grandson. And presently both Dion and his wife and sister began to suspect what was going on, and information of the plot came to them from every quarter. But Dion, as it would seem, being in distress at the fate of Heracleides, and suffering continual vexation and depression at thought of the man's

βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῷ κηλῖδα περικειμένην, δυσχεραίνων ἀεὶ καὶ βαρυνόμενος, εἶπεν ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη θνήσκειν ἕτοιμός ἐστι καὶ παρέχειν τῷ βουλομένῳ σφάττειν αὐτόν, εἰ ζῆν δεήσει μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους φυλαττόμενον.

3 *Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ὁρῶν ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐξεταζούσας ἀκριβῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ φοβηθείς, ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀρνούμενος καὶ δακρύων καὶ πίστιν ἣν βούλονται διδόναι βουλόμενος. αἱ δ' ἠξίουν αὐτὸν ὀμόσαι τὸν μέγαν ὅρκον. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος· καταβὰς εἰς τὸ τῶν Θεσμοφόρων τέμενος ὁ διδοὺς τὴν πίστιν, ἱερῶν τινων γενομένων, περιβάλλεται τὴν πορφυρίδα τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν δᾷδα καιο-*
4 *μένην ἀπόμνυσι. ταῦτα ποιήσας ὁ Κάλλιππος πάντα, καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ἀπομόσας, οὕτω κατεγέλασε τῶν θεῶν ὥστε περιμείνας τὴν ἑορτὴν ἧς ὤμοσε θεοῦ, δρᾷ τὸν φόνον ἐν τοῖς Κορείοις, οὐδὲν ἴσως τὸ περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς θεοῦ ποιησάμενος, ὡς ἀσεβουμένης πάντως, εἰ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἔσφαττε τὸν μύστην αὐτῆς ὁ μυσταγωγός.*

LVII. *Ὄντων δὲ πλειόνων ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς πράξεως, καθεζομένου Δίωνος ἐν οἰκήματι κλίνας τινὰς ἔχοντι μετὰ τῶν φίλων, οἱ μὲν ἔξω τὴν* 983
οἰκίαν περιέστησαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις τοῦ οἴκου καὶ ταῖς θυρίσιν ἦσαν. αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ προσφέρειν τὰς χεῖρας μέλλοντες Ζακύνθιοι παρῆλθον

murder, which he regarded as a stain upon his life and actions, declared that he was ready now to die many deaths and to suffer any one who wished to slay him, if it was going to be necessary for him to live on his guard, not only against his enemies, but also against his friends.

But Callippus, seeing that the women were investigating the matter carefully, and taking alarm, came to them with denials and in tears and offering to give them whatever pledge of fidelity they desired. So they required him to swear the great oath. This was done in the following manner. The one who gives this pledge goes down into the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, where, after certain sacred rites have been performed, he puts on the purple vestment of the goddess, takes a blazing torch in his hand, and recites the oath. All this Callippus did, and recited the oath; but he made such a mockery of the gods as to wait for the festival of the goddess by whom he had sworn, the Coreia, and then to do the murder.[1] And yet it is possible that he took no account of the day, since he knew that the goddess would have been utterly outraged even if at another time her mystic were slain by his mystagogue.[2]

LVII. Many had conspired to do the deed, and as Dion was sitting with his friends in an apartment containing couches for entertainment, some of the conspirators invested the house outside, while others stood at the doors and windows of the apartment. The actual assassins, who were Zacynthians, came in

[1] 353 B.C.

[2] Implying that Callippus had himself initiated Dion into the mysteries of Demeter.

ἄνευ ξιφῶν ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσιν. ἅμα δ' οἱ μὲν ἔξω τὰς θύρας ἐπισπασάμενοι κατεῖχον, οἱ δὲ τῷ Δίωνι προσπεσόντες κατάγχειν ἐπειρῶντο καὶ
2 συντρίβειν αὐτόν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ᾔτουν ξίφος· οὐδεὶς δ' ἐτόλμα τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι. συχνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἔνδον οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Δίωνος, ὧν ἕκαστος οἰόμενος, ἂν ἐκεῖνον πρόηται, διασώσειν ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ἐτόλμα βοηθεῖν. διατριβῆς δὲ γενομένης Λύκων ὁ Συρακούσιος ὀρέγει τινὶ τῶν Ζακυνθίων διὰ τῆς θυρίδος ἐγχειρίδιον, ᾧ καθάπερ ἱερεῖον τὸν Δίωνα κρατούμενον πάλαι καὶ
3 δεδιττόμενον ἀπέσφαξαν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐγκύμονος οὔσης εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐνέβαλον. καὶ συνέβη τῇ γυναικὶ τλημονέστατα λοχευθείσῃ τεκεῖν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ παιδάριον ἄρρεν· ὅπερ καὶ θρέψαι μᾶλλον παρεβάλοντο πείσασαι τοὺς φύλακας, ἤδη τοῦ Καλλίππου θορυβουμένου τοῖς πράγμασιν.

LVIII. Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀποκτείνας τὸν Δίωνα λαμπρὸς ἦν καὶ κατεῖχε τὰς Συρακούσας· καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἔγραφε πόλιν, ἣν μάλιστα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὤφειλεν αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι τηλικούτου μύσους ἁψάμενος. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἀληθῶς λέγεσθαι τὸ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην φέρειν ἄνδρας ἀρετῇ τε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ κακίᾳ τοὺς φαύλους πονηροτάτους, καθάπερ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ χώρα κάλλιστον μέλι καὶ κώνειον
2 ὠκυμορώτατον ἀναδίδωσιν. οὐ μὴν πολὺν χρόνον ὁ Κάλλιππος ἔγκλημα τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν θεῶν περιῆν, ὡς περιορώντων ἐξ ἀσεβήματος ἄνθρωπον τηλικούτου κτώμενον ἡγεμονίας καὶ πράγματα· ταχὺ δ' ἀξίαν δίκην ἔδωκεν. ὁρμήσας μὲν γὰρ

unarmed and without their cloaks. Then at the same time those outside closed the doors and held them fast, while those inside fell upon Dion and tried to strangle and crush him. They made no headway, however, and called for a sword; but no one ventured to open the door. For Dion's companions inside were many in number; but each of them thought that by abandoning Dion to his fate he would save his own life, and so no one ventured to help him. After some delay, Lycon the Syracusan handed through the window to one of the Zacynthians a shortsword, and with this they cut Dion's throat as if he had been a victim at the altar; he had long since been overpowered and was quivering before the stroke. At once, too, they cast his sister into prison, together with his wife, who was big with child. His wife had a most wretched confinement, and gave birth in the prison to a male child, which the women ventured to rear, with the consent of their guards, and all the more because Callippus was already involved in great trouble.

LVIII. At the outset, indeed, after he had killed Dion, Callippus was a glorious personage, and had Syracuse in his power. He actually wrote a letter to the city of Athens, which, next to the gods, he ought to have held in awe and fear after setting his hands to so great a pollution. But it appears to be truly said of that city that the good men whom she breeds are of the highest excellence, and the bad men of the most despicable baseness, just as her soil produces sweetest honey and deadliest hemlock. However, Callippus did not long remain a scandal to fortune and the gods, as though they had no eyes for a man who won leadership and power by so great impiety, but speedily paid a fitting penalty. For on setting out to take

Κατάνην λαβεῖν, εὐθὺς ἀπέβαλε τὰς Συρακούσας· ὅτε καί φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πόλιν ἀπολωλεκὼς
3 τυρόκνηστιν εἴληφεν. ἐπιθέμενος δὲ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ τοὺς πλείστους στρατιώτας ἀπολέσας, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν οἱ Δίωνα κατακτείναντες, οὐδεμιᾶς δὲ πόλεως αὐτὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προσδεχομένης, ἀλλὰ μισούντων ἁπάντων καὶ προβαλλομένων, Ῥήγιον κατέσχεν. ἐκεῖ δὲ λυπρῶς πράττων καὶ κακῶς διατρέφων τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ὑπὸ Λεπτίνου καὶ Πολυπέρχοντος ἀνῃρέθη, χρησαμένων ξιφιδίῳ κατὰ τύχην ᾧ καὶ Δίωνα πληγῆναί φασιν. ἐγνώσθη δὲ τῷ μεγέθει (βραχὺ γὰρ ἦν, ὥσπερ τὰ Λακωνικά) καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῆς τέχνης,
4 εἰργασμένον γλαφυρῶς καὶ περιττῶς. τοιαύτην μὲν οὖν τίσιν Κάλλιππος ἔδωκε.

Τὴν δ' Ἀριστομάχην καὶ τὴν Ἀρέτην, ὡς ἀφείθησαν ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς, ἀναλαβὼν Ἱκέτης ὁ Συρακούσιος, εἷς τῶν Δίωνος φίλων γεγονώς, ἐδόκει πιστῶς καὶ καλῶς περιέπειν. εἶτα συμπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Δίωνος ἐχθρῶν καὶ παρασκευάσας πλοῖον αὐταῖς, ὡς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποσταλησομέναις, ἐκέλευσε κατὰ πλοῦν ἀπο-
5 σφάξαντας ἐκβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ ζώσας ἔτι καταποντισθῆναι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ παιδίον μετ' αὐτῶν. περιῆλθε δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀξία ποινὴ τῶν τετολμημένων. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος ἁλοὺς ἀπέθανε, καὶ θυγατέρας δύο προσαπέκτειναν αὐτοῦ Δίωνι τιμωροῦντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ Τιμολέοντος βίῳ καθ' ἕκαστα γέγραπται.

Catana, he at once lost Syracuse; at which time, as they say, he remarked that he had lost a city and got a cheese-grater.[1] Then he attacked Messana and lost most of his soldiers, among whom were the murderers of Dion; and since no city in Sicily would receive him, but all hated and spurned him, he took possession of Rhegium. But there, being in straitened circumstances and unable to support his mercenaries properly, he was put to death by Leptines and Polyperchon, who, as fortune would have it, used the shortsword with which Dion also was said to have been smitten. And it was known by its size, which was short, after the Spartan fashion, and by the style of its workmanship, being delicately and cunningly wrought. Such, then, was the penalty which Callippus paid.

As for Andromache and Arete, when they were released from prison, they were taken up by Hicetas the Syracusan, who had been one of Dion's friends, and who was thought to be faithfully and honourably disposed towards them. Afterwards, having been persuaded by the enemies of Dion, he got a ship ready for them, pretending that they were to be sent into Peloponnesus, and ordered the sailors, during the voyage, to cut their throats and cast them into the sea. Others, however, say that they were thrown overboard alive, and the little boy with them. But Hicetas also met with a punishment worthy of his crimes. For he himself was captured by Timoleon and put to death, and the Syracusans, to avenge Dion, slew his two daughters also; of which things I have written at length in my Life of Timoleon.[2]

[1] Apparently the meaning, in Sicilian Greek, of the word Catana. Callippus maintained himself in Syracuse only thirteen months. [2] Chapters xxxii. and xxxiii.

BRUTUS

ΒΡΟΥΤΟΣ

I. Μάρκου δὲ Βρούτου πρόγονος ἦν Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος, ὃν ἀνέστησαν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ χαλκοῦν οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι μέσον τῶν βασιλέων, ἐσπασμένον ξίφος, ὡς βεβαιότατα καταλύσαντα Ταρκυνίους. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μέν, ὥσπερ τὰ ψυχρήλατα τῶν ξιφῶν, σκληρὸν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ οὐ μαλακὸν ἔχων ὑπὸ λόγου τὸ ἦθος ἄχρι παιδοφονίας ἐξώ- 984
2 κειλε τῷ θυμῷ τῷ κατὰ τῶν τυράννων, οὑτοσὶ δ', ὑπὲρ οὗ γράφεται ταῦτα, παιδείᾳ καὶ λόγῳ διὰ φιλοσοφίας καταμίξας τὸ ἦθος, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐμβριθῆ καὶ πρᾳεῖαν οὖσαν ἐπεγείρας ταῖς πρακτικαῖς ὁρμαῖς, ἐμμελέστατα δοκεῖ κραθῆναι πρὸς τὸ καλόν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀπεχθανομένους αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνωμοσίαν, εἰ μέν τι γενναῖον ἡ πρᾶξις ἤνεγκε, Βρούτῳ προσάπτειν, τὰ δυσχερέστερα δὲ τῶν γεγονότων τρέπειν εἰς Κάσσιον, οἰκεῖον μὲν ὄντα Βρούτου καὶ φίλον, ἁπλοῦν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ καθαρὸν οὐχ ὁμοίως.
3 Σερβιλία δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἀνέφερε τὸ γένος εἰς Ἀάλαν[1] Σερβίλιον, ὃς Μαιλίου Σπορίου τυραννίδα κατασκευαζομένου καὶ ταράττοντος τὸν δῆμον ἐγχειρίδιον λαβὼν ὑπὸ μάλης προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ παραστὰς τῷ ἀνδρὶ πλησίον, ὡς ἐντυγχάνειν

[1] Ἀάλαν Cobet: Ἄλαν.

BRUTUS

I. Marcus Brutus was a descendant of that Junius Brutus whose bronze statue, with a drawn sword in its hand, was erected by the ancient Romans on the Capitol among those of their kings, in token that he was most resolute in dethroning the Tarquins. But that Brutus, like the tempered steel of swords, had a disposition which was hard by nature and not softened by letters, so that his wrath against the tyrants drove him upon the dreadful act of slaying his sons;[1] whereas this Brutus, of whom I now write, modified his disposition by means of the training and culture which philosophy gives, and stimulated a nature which was sedate and mild by active enterprises, and thus seems to have been most harmoniously attempered for the practice of virtue. As a consequence, even those who hated him on account of his conspiracy against Caesar ascribed whatever was noble in the undertaking to Brutus, but laid the more distressing features of what was done to the charge of Cassius, who was a kinsman of Brutus, indeed, and his friend, but not so simple and sincere in his character. Servilia, the mother of Brutus, traced her lineage back to Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Maelius was seditiously plotting to usurp absolute power, took a dagger under his arm, went into the forum, drew nigh the man, as if

[1] See the *Publicola*, chapter vi.

τι μέλλων καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, προσνεύσαντα πα-
τάξας ἀπέκτεινε.
4 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι· τὸ δὲ
πατρῷον γένος οἱ διὰ τὸν Καίσαρος φόνον ἔχθραν
τινὰ καὶ δυσμένειαν ἀποδεικνύμενοι πρὸς Βροῦτον
οὔ φασιν εἰς τὸν ἐκβαλόντα Ταρκυνίους ἀνήκειν·
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκείνῳ λειφθῆναι γένος ἀνελόντι τοὺς
υἱούς, ἀλλὰ δημότην τοῦτον, οἰκονόμου υἱὸν
ὄντα Βρούτου, ἄρτι καὶ πρώην εἰς ἄρχοντα
5 προελθεῖν. Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος τοὺς
μὲν ἐνηλίκους φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τοῦ Βρούτου
παῖδας ὡς ἱστόρηται, τρίτον δὲ λειφθῆναι νήπιον,
ἀφ' οὗ τὸ γένος ὡρμῆσθαι· καὶ τῶν γε καθ'
αὑτὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας γεγονότων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἀναφέρειν ἐνίους πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Βρούτου
τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς ἰδέας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων
τοσαῦτα.

II. Σερβιλίας δὲ τῆς Βρούτου μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς
ἦν Κάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὃν μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων
ἐζήλωσεν οὗτος θεῖον ὄντα καὶ πενθερὸν ὕστερον
γενόμενον. τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν φιλοσόφων οὐ-
δενὸς μέν, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀνήκοος ἦν οὐδὲ
ἀλλότριος, διαφερόντως δ' ἐσπουδάκει πρὸς τοὺς
2 ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος. καὶ τὴν νέαν καὶ μέσην λεγο-
μένην Ἀκαδήμειαν οὐ πάνυ προσιέμενος ἐξήρτητο
τῆς παλαιᾶς, καὶ διετέλει θαυμάζων μὲν Ἀντί-
οχον τὸν Ἀσκαλωνίτην, φίλον δὲ καὶ συμβιωτὴν
τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένος Ἄριστον, ἄνδρα
τῇ μὲν ἐν λόγοις ἕξει πολλῶν φιλοσόφων λειπό-
μενον, εὐταξίᾳ δὲ καὶ πρᾳότητι τοῖς πρώτοις
3 ἐνάμιλλον. ὁ δ' Ἔμπυλος οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς

intending to confer privately with him, and when he inclined his head to listen, stabbed him to death.[1]

This, at all events, is generally admitted; but as to the lineage of Brutus by his father's side, those who display great hatred and malevolence towards him because of the murder of Caesar deny that it goes back to that Brutus who expelled the Tarquins, since no offspring was left to him when he had slain his sons. The ancestor of Brutus, they say, was a plebeian, son of a steward by the name of Brutus, and had only recently risen to office. Poseidonius the philosopher, however, says that the two sons of Brutus who were of age perished according to the story, but that a third son was left, an infant, from whom the family descended. He says, moreover, that there were certainly illustrious men of this house in his own day, some of whom called attention to their likeness in form and features to the statue of Brutus. Thus much, then, on this head.

II. Servilia, the mother of Brutus, was a sister of Cato the philosopher, and Brutus had a higher esteem for him than for any other Roman, Cato being his uncle and afterwards becoming his father-in-law. There was practically no Greek philosopher with whom Brutus was unacquainted or unfamiliar, but he devoted himself particularly to the disciples of Plato. To the New and Middle Academy, as they are called, he was not very partial, but clung to the Old. He was therefore always an admirer of Antiochus of Ascalon, whose brother Aristus he had made his friend and housemate, a man who in learning was inferior to many philosophers, but who in good sense and gentleness vied with the foremost. Empylus also, who is often mentioned by Brutus himself in

[1] In 439 B.C. Cf. Livy, iv. 13 f.

ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ οἱ φίλοι μέμνηνται πολλάκις ὡς
συμβιοῦντος αὐτῷ, ῥήτωρ ἦν καὶ καταλέλοιπε
μικρὸν μέν, οὐ φαῦλον δὲ σύγγραμμα περὶ τῆς
Καίσαρος ἀναιρέσεως, ὃ Βροῦτος ἐπιγέγραπται.

Ῥωμαϊστὶ μὲν οὖν ἤσκητο πρὸς τὰς διεξόδους
καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἱκανῶς ὁ Βροῦτος, Ἑλληνιστὶ 985
δὲ τὴν ἀποφθεγματικὴν καὶ Λακωνικὴν ἐπιτη-
δεύων βραχυλογίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνιαχοῦ
4 παράσημός ἐστιν. οἷον ἤδη καθεστηκὼς εἰς τὸν
πόλεμον γράφει Περγαμηνοῖς· "Ἀκούω ὑμᾶς
Δολοβέλλᾳ δεδωκέναι χρήματα· ἃ εἰ μὲν ἑκόντες
ἔδοτε, ὁμολογεῖτε ἀδικεῖν· εἰ δὲ ἄκοντες, ἀπο-
δείξατε τῷ ἐμοὶ ἑκόντες δοῦναι." πάλιν Σαμίοις·
"Αἱ βουλαὶ ὑμῶν ὀλίγωροι, αἱ ὑπουργίαι βρα-
5 δεῖαι. τί τούτων τέλος ἐννοεῖσθε;" καὶ ἑτέραν·
"Ξάνθιοι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπεριδόντες τάφον
ἀπονοίας ἐσχήκασι τὴν πατρίδα; Παταρεῖς δὲ
πιστεύσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπουσι
διοικοῦντες τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τῆς ἐλευθερίας.
ἐξὸν οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ἢ τὴν Παταρέων κρίσιν ἢ τὴν
Ξανθίων τύχην ἑλέσθαι." τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν παρα-
σήμων γένος ἐπιστολίων τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.

III. Ἔτι δὲ μειράκιον ὢν Κάτωνι τῷ θείῳ
συναπεδήμησεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἀπο-
σταλέντι. Πτολεμαίου δὲ διαφθείραντος ἑαυτὸν ὁ
Κάτων αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥόδῳ διατριβὴν ἔχων ἀναγκαίαν
ἔτυχε μὲν ἤδη τινὰ τῶν φίλων Κανίδιον ἐπὶ τὴν
τῶν χρημάτων φυλακὴν ἀπεσταλκώς, δείσας δ'
ἐκεῖνον ὡς οὐκ ἀφεξόμενον κλοπῆς, ἔγραψε τῷ
Βρούτῳ πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην εἰς Κύπρον ἐκ Παμ-
φυλίας· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀναλαμβάνων ἔκ τινος
2 ἀσθενείας διῆγεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μάλα ἄκων ἔπλευσε,

his letters, and also by his friends, as a housemate of his, was a rhetorician, and has left a brief but excellent account of the assassination of Caesar, entitled "Brutus."

In Latin, now, Brutus was sufficiently trained for narrative or pleading; but in Greek he affected the brevity of the apophthegm and the Spartan, of which he sometimes gives a striking example in his letters. For instance, when he had already embarked upon the war, he wrote to the Pergamenians: "I hear that ye have given money to Dolabella; if ye gave it willingly confess that ye have wronged me; if unwillingly, prove it by giving willingly to me." Again, to the Samians: "Your counsels are paltry, your subsidies slow; what, think ye, will be the end of this?" And in another letter: "The Xanthians ignored my benefactions, and have made their country a grave for their madness; but the Patareans entrusted themselves to me, and now enjoy their freedom in all its fulness. It is in your power also to choose the decision of the Patareans or the fate of the Xanthians." Such, then, is the style of his remarkable letters.

III. While he was still a youth, he made a journey to Cyprus with his uncle Cato, who was sent out against Ptolemy.[1] And when Ptolemy made away with himself, Cato, who was himself obliged to tarry a while in Rhodes, had already dispatched one of his friends, Canidius, to take charge of the king's treasures; but fearing that he would not refrain from theft, he wrote to Brutus bidding him sail with all speed to Cyprus from Pamphylia, where he was recruiting his health after a severe sickness. Brutus set sail, but very much against his will, both because

[1] Cf. *Cato the Younger*, chapters xxxiv., xxxvi.

τόν τε Κανίδιον αἰδούμενος ὡς ἀτίμως ἀπερριμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος, καὶ ὅλως τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ διοίκησιν, ἅτε δὴ νέος καὶ σχολαστής, οὐκ ἐλευθέριον οὐδ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπῃνέθη, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρισθείσης ἀναλαβὼν τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπλευσεν.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πράγματα διέστη Πομπηΐου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐξενεγκαμένων τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ταραχθείσης, ἐπίδοξος μὲν ἦν αἱρήσεσθαι τὰ Καίσαρος· ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐτεθνήκει πρότερον· ἀξιῶν δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπίπροσθεν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν Πομπηΐου νομίζων ὑπόθεσιν βελτίονα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος[1] ἐκείνῳ προσέθετο.
2 καίτοι πρότερον ἀπαντήσας οὐδὲ προσεῖπε τὸν Πομπήϊον, ἄγος ἡγούμενος μέγα πατρὸς φονεῖ διαλέγεσθαι· τότε δ' ὡς ἄρχοντι τῆς πατρίδος ὑποτάξας ἑαυτὸν εἰς Κιλικίαν ἔπλευσε πρεσβευτὴς μετὰ Σηστίου τοῦ λαχόντος τὴν ἐπαρχίαν.
3 ὡς δ' ἐκεῖ πράττειν οὐδὲν ἦν μέγα καὶ συνῄεσαν εἰς ταὐτὸ ἤδη Πομπήϊος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, ἧκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐθελοντὴς τοῦ κινδύνου μεθέξων· ὅτε καί φασι Πομπήϊον ἡσθέντα καὶ θαυμάσαντα προσιόντος αὐτοῦ καθεζόμενον ἐξαναστῆναι καὶ περιβαλεῖν ὡς κρείττονα πάντων ὁρώντων. ἐν δὲ τῇ στρατείᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας

[1] τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος Lentz: τοῦ Καίσαρος.

he had regard for Canidius, whom he thought to have been ignominiously discarded by Cato, and because on general grounds he considered such painstaking attention to administrative affairs to be illiberal and unworthy of himself as a young man addicted to letters. However, he applied himself to this task also, and won Cato's praise, and after converting the king's property into money, took most of the treasure and set sail for Rome.

IV. Here, when the state was rent by factions, Pompey and Caesar appealing to arms and the supreme power being confounded, Brutus was expected to choose the side of Caesar, since his father had been put to death a while before at the instigation of Pompey;[1] but thinking it his duty to put the public good above his own, and holding that Pompey's grounds for going to war were better than Caesar's, he attached himself to Pompey. And yet before this he would not even speak to Pompey when he met him, considering it a great abomination to converse with the murderer of his father; now, however, looking upon him as his country's ruler, he put himself under his orders, and set sail for Cilicia as legate with Sestius, to whom the province had been allotted. But since there was nothing of importance for him to do there, and since Pompey and Caesar were now about to meet in a supreme struggle, he came of his own accord into Macedonia to share the danger. It was then, they say, that Pompey was so filled with delight and admiration that he rose from his seat as Brutus approached, and in the sight of all embraced him as a superior. During the campaign, for whatever part of the day he was not with

[1] See the *Pompey*, chapter xvi.

ὅσα μὴ Πομπηΐῳ συνῆν περὶ λόγους καὶ βιβλία διέτριβεν, οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
4 πρὸ τῆς μεγάλης μάχης. ἦν μὲν ἀκμὴ θέρους καὶ καῦμα πολὺ πρὸς ἑλώδεσι χωρίοις ἐστρατοπεδευκότων, τῷ δὲ Βρούτῳ οὐ ταχέως ἧκον οἱ τὴν σκηνὴν κομίζοντες. ἐκπονηθεὶς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα, μεσημβρίας μόλις ἀλειψάμενος καὶ φαγὼν ὀλίγα, τῶν ἄλλων ἢ καθευδόντων ἢ πρὸς ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ φροντίδι τοῦ μέλλοντος ὄντων, αὐτὸς ἄχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας ἔγραφε συντάττων ἐπιτομὴν Πολυβίου.

V. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ μὴ κτείνειν Βροῦτον, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι, καὶ παρασχόντα μὲν ἑκουσίως ἄγειν, εἰ δὲ ἀπομάχοιτο πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν, ἐᾶν καὶ μὴ βιάζεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Βρού-
2 του Σερβιλίᾳ χαριζόμενος. ἐγνώκει γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, 986
νεανίας ὢν ἔτι τὴν Σερβιλίαν ἐπιμανεῖσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ καθ' οὓς μάλιστα χρόνους ὁ ἔρως ἐπέφλεγε γενόμενον τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπέπειστό πως ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονέναι. λέγεται δὲ τῶν περὶ Κατιλίναν πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἐμπεπτωκότων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἃ μικρὸν ἐδέησεν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν πόλιν, ἑστάναι μὲν ὁμοῦ Κάτωνα καὶ Καίσαρα διαφερομένους περὶ γνώμης, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γραμματιδίου μικροῦ προσδοθέντος ἔξωθεν Καίσαρι, τὸν μὲν ἀναγινώσκειν σιωπῇ, Κάτωνα δὲ βοᾶν ὡς δεινὰ ποιεῖ Καῖσαρ ἐντεύξεις καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τῶν πολε-
3 μίων προσδεχόμενος. θορυβησάντων δὲ πολλῶν,

Pompey, he busied himself with books and literature, not only the rest of the time, but even before the great battle.[1] It was the height of summer, the heat was great (since they had encamped in marshy regions), and they that carried the tent of Brutus were slow in coming. But though he was thus all worn out, and though it was almost noon before he anointed himself and took a little food, nevertheless, while the rest were either sleeping or occupied with anxious thoughts about the future, he himself was busy until evening in making and writing out a compend of Polybius.

V. It is said, moreover, that Caesar also was concerned for his safety, and ordered his officers not to kill Brutus in the battle, but to spare him, and take him prisoner if he gave himself up voluntarily, and if he persisted in fighting against capture, to let him alone and do him no violence; and that Caesar did this out of regard for Servilia, the mother of Brutus. For while he was still a young man, as it seems, Caesar had been intimate with Servilia, who was madly in love with him, and he had some grounds for believing that Brutus, who was born at about the time when her passion was in full blaze, was his own son. It is said also that when the great conspiracy of Catiline, which came near overthrowing the city, had come to the ears of the senate, Cato and Caesar, who were of different opinions about the matter, were standing side by side, and just then a little note was handed to Caesar from outside, which he read quietly. But Cato cried out that Caesar was outrageously receiving letters of instruction from the enemy. At this, a great tumult arose, and Caesar

[1] At Pharsalus in Thessaly, in August of 48 B.C.

καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸ δελτάριον, ὡς εἶχε, τῷ Κάτωνι προσδόντος, ἀναγνόντα Σερβιλίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀκόλαστον ἐπιστόλιον ἐκεῖνο μὲν ῥῖψαι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ εἰπεῖν "Κράτει, μέθυσε," πρὸς δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὸν λόγον αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τραπέσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἦν ὁ πρὸς Καίσαρα Σερβιλίας ἔρως περιβόητος.

VI. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἥττης καὶ Πομπηΐου μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν διεκπεσόντος, πολιορκουμένου δὲ τοῦ χάρακος, ἔλαθεν ὁ Βροῦτος κατὰ πύλας πρὸς τόπον ἑλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὑδάτων καὶ καλάμου φερούσας ἐξελθὼν καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς
2 ἀποσωθεὶς εἰς Λάρισσαν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ γράψαντος αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ ἥσθη τε σωζομένῳ, καὶ κελεύσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν οὐ μόνον ἀφῆκε τῆς αἰτίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμώμενον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περὶ αὑτὸν εἶχεν. οὐδενὸς δ' ὅπη φεύγοι Πομπήϊος εἰπεῖν ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας οὔσης, ὁδόν τινα σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ βαδίζων μόνος ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῆς γνώμης. καὶ δόξαντος ἔκ τινων διαλογισμῶν ἄριστα περὶ τῆς Πομπηΐου τεκμαίρεσθαι φυγῆς, ἀφεὶς τἆλλα
3 τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου συνέτεινεν. ἀλλὰ Πομπήϊον μέν, ὥσπερ εἴκασε Βροῦτος, Αἰγύπτῳ προσβαλόντα τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐδέξατο, Καίσαρα δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κάσσιον ἐπράϋνε Βροῦτος. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ τῶν Λιβύων βασιλεῖ προηγορῶν μὲν ἡττᾶτο τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κατηγοριῶν, δεόμενος δὲ καὶ παραιτούμενος περὶ τούτου[1] πολλὴν αὐτῷ διέσωσε τῆς
4 ἀρχῆς. λέγεται δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἤκουσεν

[1] περὶ τούτου transposed by Bekker, after Vögelin, to the following sentence, between αὐτοῦ and λέγοντος (*as soon as he heard him speaking in his behalf*).

gave the missive, just as it was, to Cato. Cato found, when he read it, that it was a wanton bit of writing from his sister Servilia, and throwing it to Caesar with the words "Take it, thou sot," turned again to the business under discussion.[1] So notorious was Servilia's passion for Caesar.

VI. After the defeat at Pharsalus, when Pompey had made his escape to the sea and his camp was besieged, Brutus went out unnoticed by a gate leading to a place that was marshy and full of water and reeds, and made his way safely by night to Larissa. From thence he wrote to Caesar, who was delighted at his safe escape, and bade him come to him, and not only pardoned him, but actually made him a highly honoured companion. Now, since no one could tell whither Pompey was fleeing, and all were in great perplexity, Caesar took a long walk with Brutus alone, and sounded him on the subject. Certain considerations advanced by Brutus made his opinion concerning Pompey's flight seem the best, and Caesar therefore renounced all other courses and hastened towards Egypt. But as for Pompey, he put in at Egypt, as Brutus conjectured, and there met his doom; as for Caesar, however, Brutus tried to soften him towards Cassius also. He also served as advocate for the king of Africa,[2] and though he lost the case, owing to the magnitude of the accusations against his client, still, by supplications and entreaties in his behalf he saved much of his kingdom for him. And it is said that Caesar, when he

[1] Cf. *Cato the Younger*, xxiv. 1 f.

[2] Probably an error, either of Plutarch's, or of the MSS. In 47 B.C. Brutus pleaded unsuccessfully before Caesar the cause of Deiotarus, king of Galatia. Coraës would read Γαλατῶν for Λιβύων.

αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· "Οὗτος ὁ νεανίας οὐκ οἶδα μὲν ὃ βούλεται, πᾶν δ' ὃ βούλεται σφόδρα βούλεται." τὸ γὰρ ἐμβριθὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ῥᾳδίως μηδὲ παντὸς ὑπήκοον τοῦ δεομένου πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ καὶ προαιρέσεως τῶν καλῶν πρακτικόν, ὅποι τρέψειεν, ἰσχυραῖς
5 ἐχρῆτο ταῖς ὁρμαῖς καὶ τελεσιουργοῖς. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀδίκους δεήσεις ἀκολάκευτος ἦν, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναισχύντως λιπαρούντων ἧτταν, ἣν ἔνιοι δυσωπεῖσθαι καλοῦσιν, αἰσχίστην ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ ποιούμενος εἰώθει λέγειν ὡς οἱ μηδὲν ἀρνεῖσθαι δυνάμενοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ μὴ καλῶς τὴν ὥραν διατεθεῖσθαι.

6 Μέλλων δὲ διαβαίνειν εἰς Λιβύην Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Κάτωνα καὶ Σκηπίωνα Βρούτῳ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίαν ἐπέτρεψεν εὐτυχίᾳ τινὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας· τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ὕβρει καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ τῶν πεπιστευμένων ὥσπερ αἰχμαλώτους διαφορούντων, ἐκείνοις καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀτυχημάτων παῦλα καὶ
7 παραμυθία Βροῦτος ἦν. καὶ τὴν χάριν εἰς Καίσαρα πάντων ἀνῆπτεν, ὡς αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον περιϊόντι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἥδιστον θέαμα τὰς ὑπὸ Βρούτῳ πόλεις γενέσθαι, καὶ Βροῦτον αὐτόν, αὔξοντα τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν καὶ συνόντα κεχαρισμένως.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλειόνων στρατηγιῶν οὐσῶν τὴν μέγιστον ἔχουσαν ἀξίωμα, καλουμένην δὲ πολιτικήν, ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἢ Βροῦτος ἕξειν ἢ Κάσσιος, οἱ 987
μὲν αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν ἐξ αἰτιῶν προτέρων ἡσυχῇ διαφερομένους ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τούτου διαστασιάσαι, καίπερ οἰκείους ὄντας· Ἰουνίᾳ γάρ, ἀδελφῇ

first heard Brutus speak in public, said to his friends: "I know not what this young man wants, but all that he wants he wants very much."[1] For the weight of his character, and the fact that no one found it easy to make him listen to appeals for favour, but that he accomplished his ends by reasoning and the adoption of noble principles, made his efforts, whithersoever directed, powerful and efficacious. No flattery could induce him to grant an unjust petition, and that inability to withstand shameless importunity, which some call timidity, he regarded as most disgraceful in a great man, and he was wont to say that those who were unable to refuse anything, in his opinion, must have been corrupted in their youth.

When Caesar was about to cross over into Africa against Cato and Scipio, he put Brutus in charge of Cisalpine Gaul, to the great good-fortune of the province; for while the other provinces, owing to the insolence and rapacity of their governors, were plundered as though they had been conquered in war, to the people of his province Brutus meant relief and consolation even for their former misfortunes. And he attached the gratitude of all to Caesar, so that, after Caesar's return, and as he traversed Italy, he found the cities under Brutus a most pleasing sight, as well as Brutus himself, who enhanced his honour and was a delightful companion.

VII. Now that there were several praetorships to be had, it was expected that the one of greatest dignity, that is, the praetorship of the city, would fall either to Brutus or to Cassius; and some say that the two men, who were already slightly at variance for other reasons, were still more estranged by this circumstance, although they were relatives, since

[1] Cf. Cicero *ad Att.* xiv. 1, 2.

2 Βρούτου, συνῴκει Κάσσιος· οἱ δὲ Καίσαρος ἔργον γενέσθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν ταύτην, ἑκατέρῳ κρύφα δι' ἐλπίδων ἐνδιδόντος ἑαυτόν, ἄχρι οὗ προαχθέντες οὕτω καὶ παροξυνθέντες εἰς ἀγῶνα κατέστησαν. ἠγωνίζετο δὲ Βροῦτος εὐκλείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ πρὸς πολλὰ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ λαμπρὰ τὰ Παρ-
3 θικὰ νεανιεύματα. Καῖσαρ δ' ἀκούσας καὶ βουλευόμενος ἐν τοῖς φίλοις εἶπε· "Δικαιότερα μὲν λέγει Κάσσιος, Βρούτῳ δὲ τὴν πρώτην δοτέον." ἀπεδείχθη δὲ Κάσσιος ἐφ' ἑτέρᾳ στρατηγός, οὐ τοσοῦτον εὐνοίας ἔχων δι' ἣν ἔλαβεν ὅσον ὀργῆς ὧν ἀπέτυχε.

4 Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ τἆλλα μετεῖχε τῆς Καίσαρος δυνάμεως ὅσον ἐβούλετο. βουλομένῳ γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι τῶν φίλων πρώτῳ καὶ δύνασθαι πλεῖστον· ἀλλ' εἷλκεν αὐτὸν ἡ περὶ Κάσσιον ἑταιρεία καὶ ἀπέστρεφεν, αὐτῷ μὲν οὔπω Κασσίῳ διηλλαγμένον ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἀκούοντα δὲ τῶν φίλων διακελευομένων μὴ περιορᾶν αὑτὸν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μαλασσόμενον καὶ κηλούμενον, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν τὰς τυραννικὰς φιλοφροσύνας καὶ χάριτας, αἷς οὐ τιμῶντα τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀλλ' ἐκτέμνοντα τὴν ἀλκὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ὑπερείποντα χρῆσθαι πρὸς αὑτόν.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Καῖσαρ ἀνύποπτος ἦν πάμπαν οὐδ' ἀδιάβλητος πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐδεδίει τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐπίστευε δὲ τῷ ἤθει. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα λεγομένων νεωτερίζειν

Cassius was the husband of Junia, a sister of Brutus. But others say that this rivalry was the work of Caesar, who secretly favoured the hopes of each until, thus induced and incited, they entered into competition with one another. Brutus, however, made the contest supported only by his fair fame and his virtue, as against many brilliant and spirited exploits of Cassius in the Parthian war.[1] But Caesar, after hearing the claims of each, said, in council with his friends: "Cassius makes the juster plea, but Brutus must have the first praetorship." So Cassius was appointed to another praetorship, but he was not so grateful for what he got as he was angry over what he had lost.

And in all other ways, too, Brutus had as large a share in Caesar's power as he wished. Indeed, had he wished it, he might have been first among Caesar's friends and exercised the greatest power; but the party of Cassius drew him away from such a course. Not that he was reconciled to Cassius himself as yet, after their struggle for honours, but he gave ear to the friends of Cassius, who urged him not to suffer himself to be charmed and softened by Caesar, but rather to flee the tyrant's kindnesses and favours, for these were shown to him, not to reward his virtue, but to root out his vigour and his haughty spirit.

VIII. However, even Caesar was not wholly without suspicion, nor free from the effects of accusations against Brutus, but, while he feared his high spirit, his great repute, and his friends, he had faith in his character. Once, when he was told that Antony and Dolabella were plotting revolution, he said it

[1] See the *Crassus*, xviii. ff.

οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς παχεῖς καὶ κομήτας ἐνοχλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὠχροὺς καὶ ἰσχνοὺς ἐκείνους· Βροῦτον λέγων
2 *καὶ Κάσσιον· ἔπειτα τὸν Βροῦτον τινῶν διαβαλλόντων καὶ φυλάττεσθαι παρακελευομένων τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ σώματος ἁπτόμενος εἶπε· "Τί δέ; οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ Βροῦτος ἀναμεῖναι τουτὶ τὸ σαρκίον;" ὡς οὐδενὶ προσῆκον ἄλλῳ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ Βρούτῳ δύνασθαι τοσοῦτον. καὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἂν ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι βεβαίως, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀνασχόμενος Καίσαρι δευτερεῦσαι καὶ παρακμάσαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μαρανθῆναι*
3 *τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐάσας δόξαν. ἀλλὰ Κάσσιος, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ μᾶλλον ἰδίᾳ μισοκαῖσαρ ἢ κοινῇ μισοτύραννος, ἐξέκαυσε καὶ κατήπειξε. λέγεται δὲ Βροῦτος μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν βαρύνεσθαι, Κάσσιος δὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα μισεῖν, ἄλλα τε κατ' αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος ἐγκλήματα καὶ λεόντων ἀφαίρεσιν, οὓς Κάσσιος μὲν ἀγορανομεῖν μέλλων παρεσκευάσατο, Καῖσαρ δὲ καταληφθέντας ἐν Μεγάροις, ὅθ' ἡ πόλις ἥλω διὰ Καληνοῦ,*
4 *κατέσχε. ταῦτα τὰ θηρία συμφορὰν λέγεται μεγάλην γενέσθαι Μεγαρεῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς πόλεως καταλαμβανομένης διέσπασαν τὰ κλεῖθρα καὶ τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀνῆκαν, ὡς ἐμποδὼν εἴη τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, τὰ δ' ὥρουσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ διαθέοντας ἀνόπλους ἥρπαζεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ὄψιν οἰκτρὰν γενέσθαι.*

IX. *Τῷ δ' οὖν Κασσίῳ ταύτην μάλιστά φασιν αἰτίαν ὑπάρξαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς· οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγον-*

was not the fat and long-haired fellows that troubled him, but those pale and lean ones;[1] meaning Brutus and Cassius. And again, when certain ones were accusing Brutus to him, and urging him to be on his guard against him, he laid his hand upon his breast and said: "What? Think ye not that Brutus can wait for this poor flesh?" implying that no one besides Brutus was fit to succeed him in such great power. And verily it appears that Brutus might have been first in the city with none to dispute him, could he have endured for a little while to be second to Caesar, suffering his power to wane and the fame of his successes to wither. But Cassius, a man of violent temper, and rather a hater of Caesar on his own private account than a hater of tyranny on public grounds, fired him up and urged him on. Brutus, it is said, objected to the rule, but Cassius hated the ruler, and among other charges which he brought against him was that of taking away some lions which Cassius had provided when he was about to be aedile; the beasts had been left at Megara, and when the city was taken by Calenus,[2] Caesar appropriated them. And the beasts are said to have brought great calamity upon the Megarians. For these, just as their city was captured, drew back the bolts and loosened the fetters that confined the animals, in order that they might obstruct the oncoming foe, but they rushed among the unarmed citizens themselves and preyed upon them as they ran hither and thither, so that even to the enemy the sight was a pitiful one.

IX. In the case of Cassius, then, they say this was the chief reason for his plotting against Caesar;

[1] Cf. *Caesar*, lxii. 5. [2] Cf. *Caesar*, xliii. 1.

τες. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει τοῦ Κασσίου
δυσμένειά τις καὶ χαλεπότης πρὸς τὸ γένος τῶν
τυράννων, ὡς ἐδήλωσεν ἔτι παῖς ὢν βαδίζων εἰς
ταὐτὸ τῷ τοῦ Σύλλα παιδὶ Φαύστῳ διδασκαλεῖον.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παισὶ μεγαληγορῶν τὴν τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐπῄνει μοναρχίαν· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐπανα-
2 στὰς κονδύλους ἐνέτριβεν αὐτῷ. βουλομένων δὲ
τῶν ἐπιτρόπων τοῦ Φαύστου καὶ οἰκείων ἐπεξιέναι 988
καὶ δικάζεσθαι Πομπήϊος ἐκώλυσε, καὶ συναγα-
γὼν εἰς ταὐτὸ τοὺς παῖδας ἀμφοτέρους ἀνέκρινε
περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται τὸν Κάσ-
σιον εἰπεῖν· "Ἄγε δή, ὦ Φαῦστε, τόλμησον ἐναν-
τίον τούτου φθέγξασθαι τὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον ἐφ' ᾧ
παρωξύνθην, ἵνα σου πάλιν ἐγὼ συντρίψω τὸ
στόμα."
3 Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος· Βροῦτον δὲ πολλοὶ
μὲν λόγοι παρὰ τῶν συνήθων, πολλαῖς δὲ φήμαις
καὶ γράμμασιν ἐξεκαλοῦντο καὶ παρώρμων ἐπὶ
τὴν πρᾶξιν οἱ πολῖται. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδριάντι
τοῦ προπάτορος Βρούτου τοῦ καταλύσαντος τὴν
τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχὴν ἐπέγραφον· "Εἴθε νῦν ἦς,
Βροῦτε·" καί "Ὤφελε ζῆν Βροῦτος." τὸ δ' αὐ-
τοῦ Βρούτου βῆμα στρατηγοῦντος εὑρίσκετο μεθ'
ἡμέραν ἀνάπλεων γραμμάτων τοιούτων· "Βροῦτε,
4 καθεύδεις;" καί "Οὐκ εἶ Βροῦτος ἀληθῶς." αἴτιοι
δὲ τούτων οἱ Καίσαρος κόλακες ἄλλας τε τιμὰς
ἐπιφθόνους ἀνευρίσκοντες αὐτῷ καὶ διαδήματα
τοῖς ἀνδριάσι νύκτωρ ἐπιτιθέντες, ὡς τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς ὑπαξόμενοι βασιλέα προσειπεῖν ἀντὶ δικτά-
τορος. τοὐναντίον δ' ἀπήντησεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ
Καίσαρος ἀκριβῶς γέγραπται.

X. Κασσίῳ δὲ πειρῶντι τοὺς φίλους ἐπὶ Καί-

but it is not so. For from the outset there was in the nature of Cassius great hostility and bitterness towards the whole race of tyrants, as he showed when he was still a boy and went to the same school with Faustus the son of Sulla. For when Faustus blustered among the boys and bragged about his father's absolute power, Cassius sprang up and gave him a thrashing. The guardians and relatives of Faustus wished to carry the matter into court, but Pompey forbade it, and after bringing the two boys together, questioned them both about the matter. Then, as the story goes, Cassius said: "Come now, Faustus, have the courage to utter in this man's presence that speech which angered me, and I will smash your face again."

Such was Cassius; but Brutus was exhorted and incited to the undertaking by many arguments from his comrades, and by many utterances and writings from his fellow citizens. For instance, on the statue of his ancestor, the Brutus who overthrew the power of the kings, there was written: "O that we had thee now, Brutus!" and "O that Brutus were alive!" Besides, the praetorial tribunal of Brutus himself was daily found covered with such writings as these: "Brutus, art thou asleep?" and "Thou art not really Brutus." These things were brought about by the flatterers of Caesar, who, among other invidious honours which they invented for him, actually put crowns upon his statues by night, hoping to induce the multitude to address him as king instead of dictator. But the contrary came to pass, as I have written fully in my Life of Caesar.[1]

X. Moreover, when Cassius sought to induce his

[1] Chapter lxi.

σαρα πάντες ὡμολόγουν, εἰ Βροῦτος ἡγοῖτο· δεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ χειρῶν οὐδὲ τόλμης τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλὰ δόξης ἀνδρὸς οἷος οὗτός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καταρχομένου καὶ βεβαιοῦντος αὐτῷ τῷ παρεῖναι τὸ δίκαιον· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ δρῶντας ἀθυμοτέρους ἔσεσθαι καὶ δράσαντας ὑποπτοτέρους· ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνου τὸ ἔργον, εἰ καλὴν αἰτίαν εἶχεν, ἀπειπαμένου.
2 ταῦτα συμφρονήσας ἐνέτυχε Βρούτῳ πρότερος ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐκείνης, καὶ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἠρώτησεν εἰ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς ἔγνωκεν εἰς σύγκλητον παρεῖναι· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὡς λόγον ὑπὲρ βασιλείας Καίσαρος οἱ φίλοι τότε καθήσοιεν. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου μὴ παριέναι, "Τί οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Κάσσιος, "ἂν καλῶσιν ἡμᾶς;" "Ἐμὸν ἔργον," ἔφη ὁ Βροῦτος, "ἤδη τὸ μὴ σιωπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀμύνειν τῇ πατρίδι[1] καὶ προαποθνήσκειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας."
3 καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπαρθείς, "Τίς δ'," εἶπε, "Ῥωμαίων ἀνέξεται σοῦ προαποθνήσκοντος; ἆρα ἀγνοεῖς, ὦ Βροῦτε, σεαυτόν; ἢ τὸ βῆμά σου δοκεῖς καταγράφειν τοὺς ὑφάντας καὶ τοὺς καπήλους, οὐχὶ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ κρατίστους ταῦτα ποιεῖν, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἐπιδόσεις καὶ θέας καὶ μονομάχους, παρὰ σοῦ δὲ ὡς ὄφλημα πατρικὸν τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπαι-
4 τοῦντας, αὐτοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ πάντα πάσχειν προθύμους ὄντας, οἷον ἀξιοῦσι καὶ προσδέχονται

[1] ἀμύνειν τῇ πατρίδι Lentz, comparing Appian, *B.C.* ii. 113: ἀμύνειν.

friends to conspire against Caesar, they all agreed to do so if Brutus took the lead, arguing that the undertaking demanded, not violence nor daring, but the reputation of a man like him, who should consecrate the victim, as it were, and ensure by the mere fact of his participation the justice of the sacrifice; otherwise they would be more timid in doing the deed and more suspected after they had done it, since men would say that Brutus would not have declined the task if the purpose of it had been honourable. After reflecting on this, Cassius made Brutus his first visit since the quarrel above mentioned,[1] and when they were again on a friendly footing, asked him whether he had made up his mind to attend the meeting of the senate on the Calends of March; for it had come to his ears, he said, that Caesar's friends would then move to have him made king. When Brutus answered that he should not attend, "What, then," said Cassius, "if we should be summoned?" "It would at once be my duty," said Brutus, "not to hold my peace, but to defend my country and die in behalf of liberty." Then Cassius, elated, said: "But what Roman will consent to have thee die in such defence? Dost thou not know thyself, Brutus? Or dost thou think that thy tribunal was covered with inscriptions by weavers and hucksters, and not by the foremost and most influential citizens? From their other praetors they demand gifts and spectacles and gladiatorial combats; but from thee, as a debt thou owest to thy lineage, the abolition of the tyranny; and they are ready and willing to suffer anything in thy behalf, if thou showest thyself to be what they ex-

[1] Chapter vii. 1-3.

φανέντος;" ἐκ τούτου περιβαλὼν τὸν Βροῦτον ἠσπάζετο, καὶ διαλυθέντες οὕτως ἐτρέποντο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους.

XI. Ἦν δέ τις Γάϊος Λιγάριος τῶν Πομπηΐου φίλων, ὃν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορηθέντα Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσεν. οὗτος, οὐχ ἧς ἀφείθη δίκης χάριν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀρχὴν βαρυνόμενος, ἐχθρὸς ἦν Καίσαρι, τῶν δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα συνήθης. πρὸς τοῦτον ἀσθενοῦντα Βροῦτος εἰσελθών, "Ὦ Λιγάριε," εἶπεν, "ἐν οἵῳ καιρῷ νοσεῖς." κἀκεῖνος εὐθὺς εἰς ἀγκῶνα διαναστὰς καὶ λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς, "Ἀλλ' εἴ τι," φησίν, "ὦ Βροῦτε, σεαυτοῦ φρονεῖς ἄξιον, ὑγιαίνω."

XII. Ἐκ τούτου διαπειρώμενοι κρύφα τῶν γνωρίμων οἷς ἐπίστευον ἀνεκοινοῦντο καὶ προσελάμβανον, οὐ μόνον τῶν συνήθων ποιούμενοι τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἠπίσταντο τολμητὰς ὄντας
2 ἀγαθοὺς καὶ θανάτου καταφρονητάς. διὸ καὶ Κικέρωνα, τοῦτο μὲν πίστεως, τοῦτο δὲ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα πρῶτον ὄντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀπεκρύψαντο, μὴ τῷ φύσει τόλμης ἐνδεὴς εἶναι προσειληφὼς ὑπὸ χρόνου γεροντικὴν εὐλάβειαν, εἶτα πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνάγων τοῖς λογισμοῖς εἰς ἄκραν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀμβλύνῃ τὴν ἀκμὴν αὐτῶν τῆς προ- 989
3 θυμίας τάχους δεομένην. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων ὁ Βροῦτος Στατίλιόν τε παρέλιπε τὸν Ἐπικούρειον καὶ Φαώνιον ἐραστὴν Κάτωνος, ὅτι πόρρωθεν αὐτοῖς τοιαύτην τινὰ κύκλῳ περιβαλόντος ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν

pect and demand." After this, he embraced Brutus and kissed him, and thus reconciled they betook themselves to their friends.

XI. There was a certain Caius Ligarius[1] among the friends of Pompey, who had been denounced as such, but pardoned by Caesar. This man, cherishing no gratitude for his pardon, but rather offended by the power which had put his life in jeopardy, was an enemy of Caesar, and one of the most familiar friends of Brutus. Once, when this man was sick, Brutus came to see him, and said: "O Ligarius, what a time this is to be sick!" Ligarius at once raised himself on his elbow, clasped Brutus by the hand, and said: "Nay, Brutus, if thou hast a purpose worthy of thyself, I am well."

XII. After this, they secretly tested the sentiments of well known men in whom they had confidence, selecting not only from their intimates, but all whom they knew to be bold, brave, and contemptuous of death. For this reason, too, they kept their plans a secret from Cicero, although he was foremost among them, not only for the confidence, but also for the good will which he inspired. They feared that the caution which time and old age had brought him, combined with his natural timidity, and further, his habit of calculating all the details of every enterprise so as to ensure the utmost safety, would blunt the edge of their ardour at a crisis which demanded speed. Besides, Brutus also passed by, among his other friends, Statilius the Epicurean and Favonius the devoted follower of Cato. The reason was that some time before he had put them to a very similar test by the round-about method of a philosophical

[1] He is called Quintus Ligarius in the *Cicero*, xxxix. 5.

πεῖραν, ὁ μὲν Φαώνιος ἀπεκρίνατο χεῖρον εἶναι μοναρχίας παρανόμου πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, ὁ δὲ Στατίλιος ἔφη τῷ σοφῷ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι διὰ φαύλους καὶ ἀνοήτους κινδυνεύειν καὶ ταράττεσθαι μὴ καθήκειν. παρὼν δὲ Λαβεὼν ἀντεῖπεν ἀμφοτέροις.
4 καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος τότε μὲν ὡς ἔχοντός τι τοῦ λόγου χαλεπὸν καὶ δύσκριτον ἀπεσιώπησεν, ὕστερον δὲ Λαβεῶνι κοινοῦται τὸ βούλευμα. δεξαμένου δὲ προθύμως, τὸν ἕτερον Βροῦτον, ἐπίκλησιν Ἀλβῖνον, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ὄντα ῥέκτην οὐδὲ θαρραλέον, ἐρρωμένον δὲ πλήθει μονομάχων οὓς ἐπὶ θέᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἔτρεφε, καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρι
5 πιστευόμενον, ἐδόκει προσάγεσθαι. Κασσίου δὲ καὶ Λαβεῶνος αὐτῷ διαλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, Βρούτῳ δ' αὐτὸς ἐντυχὼν ἰδίᾳ καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι τῆς πράξεως ἡγεμών ἐστιν, ὡμολόγησε συμπράξειν προθύμως. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τοὺς πλείστους καὶ ἀρίστους ἡ δόξα τοῦ Βρούτου προσήγετο.
6 καὶ μήθ' ὅρκον συνομόσαντες μήτε πίστιν καθ' ἱερῶν λαβόντες ἢ δόντες, οὕτως ἅπαντες ἔσχον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ κατεσιώπησαν καὶ συνδιήνεγκαν ὥστε μαντείαις καὶ φάσμασι καὶ ἱεροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν προδεικνυμένην ἄπιστον γενέσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν.

XIII. Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος, ἅτε δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς Ῥώμης φρονήματα καὶ γένη καὶ ἀρετὰς ἐξηρτημένος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περινοῶν πάντα τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔξω μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο κατέχειν παρ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ κατακοσμεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, οἴκοι δὲ καὶ νύκτωρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ αὐτός, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄκοντα τῶν ὕπνων αὐτὸν ἡ

discussion, when Favonius had answered that civil war was worse than illegal monarchy; and Statilius had declared that it did not become a wise and sensible man to be thrown into turmoil and peril for the sake of feeble and foolish folk. Labeo, however, who was present, argued against them both. At that time, on the ground that the question was rather difficult and hard to decide, Brutus held his peace, but afterwards imparted his purpose to Labeo, who readily concurred in it. Then it was decided to bring over to their cause the other Brutus, surnamed Albinus;[1] in other ways he was not an enterprising nor even a courageous man, but the large number of gladiators whom he was maintaining for the Roman spectacles made him powerful, and he had Caesar's confidence. When Cassius and Labeo discussed the matter with him, he would make no answer; but he had a private interview by himself with Brutus, and on learning that he was leader of the enterprise, readily agreed to co-operate. The most and best of the rest also were won over by the reputation in which Brutus stood. And although they exchanged neither oaths nor sacred pledges, they all kept the undertaking so much to themselves and were so secret in carrying it out together that, although it was foretold by the gods in prophecies and oracles and sacrificial omens,[2] no one would believe in it.

XIII. Now Brutus, since he had made the foremost men of Rome for dignity, family, and virtue, dependent on himself, and since he understood all the danger involved, in public tried to keep his thoughts to himself and under control; but at home, and at night, he was not the same man. Sometimes, in spite

[1] Cf. *Caesar*, chapter lxiv. [2] Cf. *Caesar*, chapter lxiii.

φροντὶς ἐξέφερε, τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνδυόμενος τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ διατρίβων ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις οὐκ ἐλάνθανε τὴν γυναῖκα συναναπαυομένην, ὅτι μεστός ἐστι ταραχῆς ἀήθους καὶ κυκλεῖ τι παρ' ἑαυτῷ δύσφορον βούλευμα καὶ δυσεξέλικτον.

2 Ἡ δὲ Πορκία θυγάτηρ μέν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Κάτωνος ἦν, εἶχε δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Βροῦτος ἀνεψιὸς ὢν οὐκ ἐκ παρθενίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ προτέρου τελευτήσαντος ἀνδρὸς ἔλαβε κόρην οὖσαν ἔτι καὶ παιδίον ἔχουσαν ἐξ ἐκείνου μικρόν, ᾧ Βύβλος ἦν ὄνομα· καί τι βιβλίδιον μικρὸν ἀπομνημονευμάτων Βρούτου γεγραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διασώζεται.

3 φιλόστοργος δ' ἡ Πορκία καὶ φίλανδρος οὖσα καὶ μεστὴ φρονήματος νοῦν ἔχοντος, οὐ πρότερον ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνερέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα περὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἢ λαβεῖν ἑαυτῆς τοιαύτην διάπειραν. λαβοῦσα μαχαίριον ᾧ τοὺς ὄνυχας οἱ κουρεῖς ἀφαιροῦσι, καὶ πάσας ἐξελάσασα τοῦ θαλάμου τὰς ὀπαδούς, τομὴν ἐνέβαλε τῷ μηρῷ βαθεῖαν, ὥστε ῥύσιν αἵματος πολλὴν γενέσθαι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὀδύνας τε νεανικὰς καὶ φρικώδεις πυρετοὺς
4 ἐπιλαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος. ἀγωνιῶντος δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ δυσφοροῦντος ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἀλγηδόνος οὖσα διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως· "Ἐγώ, Βροῦτε, Κάτωνος οὖσα θυγάτηρ εἰς τὸν σὸν ἐδόθην οἶκον οὐχ ὥσπερ αἱ παλλακευόμεναι, κοίτης μεθέξουσα καὶ τραπέζης μόνον, ἀλλὰ κοινωνὸς μὲν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι, κοινωνὸς δὲ ἀνιαρῶν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σὰ πάντα περὶ τὸν γάμον ἄμεμπτα· τῶν δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ τίς ἀπόδειξις ἢ χάρις, εἰ μήτε σοι πάθος ἀπόρρητον συνδιοίσω μήτε φροντίδα
5 πίστεως δεομένην; οἶδ' ὅτι γυναικεία φύσις

of himself, his anxious thoughts would rouse him out of sleep, and sometimes, when he was more than ever immersed in calculation and beset with perplexities, his wife, who slept by his side, perceived that he was full of unwonted trouble, and was revolving in his mind some difficult and complicated plan.

Porcia, as has been said, was a daughter of Cato, and when Brutus, who was her cousin, took her to wife, she was not a virgin; she was, however, still very young, and had by her deceased husband[1] a little son whose name was Bibulus. A small book containing memoirs of Brutus was written by him, and is still extant. Porcia, being of an affectionate nature, fond of her husband, and full of sensible pride, did not try to question her husband about his secrets until she had put herself to the following test. She took a little knife, such as barbers use to cut the finger nails, and after banishing all her attendants from her chamber, made a deep gash in her thigh, so that there was a copious flow of blood, and after a little while violent pains and chills and fever followed from the wound. Seeing that Brutus was disturbed and greatly distressed, in the height of her anguish she spoke to him thus: "Brutus, I am Cato's daughter, and I was brought into thy house, not, like a mere concubine, to share thy bed and board merely, but to be a partner in thy joys, and a partner in thy troubles. Thou, indeed, art faultless as a husband; but how can I show thee any grateful service if I am to share neither thy secret suffering nor the anxiety which craves a loyal confidant? I know that woman's nature is thought too weak to

[1] Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, colleague of Caesar in the consulship of 59 B.C.

ἀσθενὴς δοκεῖ λόγον ἐνεγκεῖν ἀπόρρητον· ἀλλ'
ἔστι τις, ὦ Βροῦτε, καὶ τροφῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ
ὁμιλίας χρηστῆς εἰς ἦθος ἰσχύς· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ
Κάτωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τὸ Βρούτου γυναῖκα 990
πρόσεστιν· οἷς πρότερον μὲν ἧττον ἐπεποίθειν,
νῦν δ' ἐμαυτὴν ἔγνωκα καὶ πρὸς πόνον ἀήττητον
6 εἶναι." ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ τὸ τραῦμα
καὶ διηγεῖται τὴν πεῖραν. ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ
ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεύξατο δοῦναι τοὺς θεοὺς
αὐτῷ κατορθοῦντι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀνδρὶ Πορκίας
ἀξίῳ φανῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνελάμβανε τὴν
γυναῖκα.

XIV. Προγραφείσης δὲ βουλῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐπίδοξος
ἦν ἀφίξεσθαι Καῖσαρ, ἔγνωσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν· καὶ
γὰρ ἀθρόοι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀνυπόπτως ἔσεσθαι
τότε, καὶ πάντας ἕξειν ὁμοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ
πρώτους ἄνδρας, ἔργου μεγάλου πραχθέντος εὐ-
2 θὺς ἀντιλαμβανομένους τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἐδόκει
δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ τόπου θεῖον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν·
στοὰ γὰρ ἦν μία τῶν περὶ τὸ θέατρον, ἐξέδραν
ἔχουσα ἐν ᾗ Πομπηΐου τις εἰκὼν εἱστήκει, τῆς
πόλεως στησαμένης ὅτε ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ τῷ
θεάτρῳ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἐκόσμησεν. εἰς ταύτην
οὖν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκαλεῖτο τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς
μάλιστα μεσοῦντος (εἰδοὺς Μαρτίας τὴν ἡμέραν
Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν), ὥστε καὶ δαίμων τις ἐδόκει
τὸν ἄνδρα τῇ Πομπηΐου δίκῃ προσάξειν.

3 Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας Βροῦτος μὲν ὑποζω-
σάμενος ἐγχειρίδιον μόνης συνειδυίας τῆς γυναικὸς
προῆλθεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πρὸς Κάσσιον ἀθροισθέντες
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ καλούμενον ἀνδρεῖον ἱμάτιον
ἀναλαμβάνοντα κατῆγον εἰς ἀγοράν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ

endure a secret; but good rearing and excellent companionship go far towards strengthening the character, and it is my happy lot to be both the daughter of Cato and the wife of Brutus. Before this I put less confidence in these advantages, but now I know that I am superior even to pain." Thus having spoken, she showed him her wound and explained her test; whereupon Brutus, amazed, and lifting his hands to heaven, prayed that he might succeed in his undertaking and thus show himself a worthy husband of Porcia. Then he sought to restore his wife.

XIV. A meeting of the senate having been called, to which it was expected that Caesar would come, they determined to make their attempt there; for they could then gather together in numbers without exciting suspicion, and would have all the best and foremost men in one place, who, once the great deed was done, would straightway espouse the cause of liberty. It was thought, too, that the place of meeting was providentially in their favour; for it was one of the porticoes about the theatre, containing a session-room in which stood a statue of Pompey. This statue the city had erected in his honour when he adorned that place with the porticoes and the theatre.[1] Hither, then, the senate was summoned about the middle of March[2] (the Romans call the day the Ides of March), so that some heavenly power seemed to be conducting Caesar to Pompey's vengeance.

When the day came, Brutus girt on a dagger, to the knowledge of his wife alone, and went forth, while the rest assembled at the house of Cassius and conducted his son, who was about to assume what was called the "toga virilis," down to the forum. Thence

[1] Cf. *Pompey*, xl. 5. [2] March 15, 44 B.C.

πάντες εἰς τὴν Πομπηΐου στοὰν ἐμβαλόντες διέ-
τριβον, ὡς αὐτίκα Καίσαρος ἀφιξομένου πρὸς
4 τὴν σύγκλητον. ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδρῶν
τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καθεστηκὸς ἐθαύ-
μασεν ἄν τις εἰδὼς τὸ μέλλον, ὅτι πολλοῖς διὰ τὸ
στρατηγεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι χρηματίζειν οὐ μόνον
πρᾴως ἠκροῶντο τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ διαφερο-
μένων ὥσπερ σχολάζοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις
ἑκάστοις ἀκριβεῖς καὶ μετὰ γνώμης ἐδίδοσαν,
5 ἐπιμελῶς προσέχοντες. ἐπεὶ δέ τις μὴ βουλό-
μενος δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἐπεκαλεῖτο Καίσαρα καὶ
πολὺς ἦν βοῶν καὶ μαρτυρόμενος, ἀποβλέψας ὁ
Βροῦτος εἰς τοὺς παρόντας, "Ἐμὲ Καῖσαρ,"
εἶπεν, "οὔτε κωλύει ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
οὔτε κωλύσει."

XV. Καίτοι πολλὰ θορυβώδη κατὰ τύχην
αὐτοῖς προσέπεσε· πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα τὸ
βραδύνειν τὸν Καίσαρα τῆς ἡμέρας προηκούσης
καὶ δυσιεροῦντα κατέχεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς
οἴκοι, κωλύεσθαι δὲ προελθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν μάντεων.
2 δεύτερον δὲ Κάσκᾳ τῶν συνειδότων ἑνὶ προσελ-
θών τις καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς, "Σὺ μέν,"
εἶπεν, "ἀπεκρύψω τὸ ἀπόρρητον, ὦ Κάσκα,
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Βροῦτος δέ μοι πάντα μεμήνυκεν."
ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Κάσκα γελάσας ἐκεῖνος,
"Πόθεν," ἔφη, "ταχέως οὕτως, ὦ μακάριε, πε-
πλούτηκας ὥστ' εἰς ἀγορανομίαν ἀποδύεσθαι;"
παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ὁ Κάσκας ἦλθε σφαλεὶς
3 ἀμφιβολίᾳ προέσθαι τὸ ἀπόρρητον· αὐτὸν δὲ

they all hastened to the portico of Pompey and waited there, expecting that Caesar would straightway come to the meeting of the senate. There any one who knew what was about to happen would have been above all things astonished at the indifference and composure of the men on the brink of this terrible crisis. Many of them were praetors and therefore obliged to perform the duties of their office, wherein they not only listened calmly to those who had petitions to offer or quarrels to compose, as if they had ample time, but also took pains to give their verdicts in every case with accuracy and judgment. And when a certain man who was unwilling to submit to the verdict of Brutus appealed to Caesar with loud cries and attestations, Brutus turned his gaze upon the bystanders and said: "Caesar does not prevent me from acting according to the laws, nor will he prevent me."

XV. And yet many things occurred to surprise and disturb them. First and foremost, though the day was advancing, Caesar delayed his coming, being detained at home by his wife because his omens were unpropitious,[1] and prevented from going forth by the soothsayers. In the second place, some one came up to Casca, one of the conspirators, took him by the hand, and said: "You hid the secret from us, Casca, but Brutus has told me everything." And when Casca was dumb with amazement, the man burst out laughing and said: "How did you get so rich on a sudden, my good fellow, as to stand for the aedileship?" So near did Casca come, in the mistake caused by the man's ambiguity, to disclosing the

[1] Cf. *Caesar*, lxiii. 5.

Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἀνὴρ βουλευτικὸς Ποπίλιος
Λαίνας ἀσπασάμενος προθυμότερον καὶ ψιθυρί-
σας ἠρέμα, "Συνεύχομαι," φησίν, "ὑμῖν ἐκτελεῖν
ἃ κατὰ νοῦν ἔχετε καὶ παρακελεύομαι μὴ βραδύ-
νειν· οὐ γὰρ σιωπᾶται τὸ πρᾶγμα." καὶ ταῦτ'
εἰπὼν ἀπέστη πολλὴν ὑποψίαν ἐμβαλὼν τοῦ
πεπύσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δέ τις οἴκοθεν ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον
4 ἀγγέλλων αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα θνήσκειν. ἡ γὰρ
Πορκία πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐκπαθὴς οὖσα καὶ τὸ
μέγεθος μὴ φέρουσα τῆς φροντίδος ἑαυτήν τε
μόλις οἴκοι κατεῖχε, καὶ πρὸς πάντα θόρυβον
καὶ βοήν, ὥσπερ αἱ κατάσχετοι τοῖς βακχικοῖς
πάθεσιν, ἐξᾴττουσα τῶν μὲν εἰσιόντων ἀπ'
ἀγορᾶς ἕκαστον ἀνέκρινεν ὅ τι πράττοι Βροῦτος,
5 ἑτέρους δὲ συνεχῶς ἐξέπεμπε. τέλος δὲ τοῦ χρό- 991
νου μῆκος λαμβάνοντος οὐκέτ' ἀντεῖχεν ἡ τοῦ
σώματος δύναμις, ἀλλ' ἐξελύθη καὶ κατεμαραί-
νετο τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλυούσης διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν· καὶ
παρελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον οὐκ ἔφθη, περι-
ΐστατο δ' αὐτήν, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανεν, ἐν μέσῳ καθε-
ζομένην λιποθυμία καὶ θάμβος ἀμήχανον, ἥ τε
χρόα μεταβολὴν ἐλάμβανε καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπέ-
6 σχητο παντάπασιν. αἱ δὲ θεράπαιναι πρὸς τὴν
ὄψιν ἀνωλόλυξαν, καὶ τῶν γειτόνων συνδραμόν-
των ἐπὶ θύρας ταχὺ προῆλθε φήμη καὶ διεδόθη
λόγος ὡς τεθνηκυίας αὐτῆς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνην
μὲν ἀναλάμψασαν ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῇ
γενομένην αἱ γυναῖκες ἐθεράπευον· ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος
ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ συνεταράχθη
μέν, ὡς εἰκός, οὐ μήν γε κατέλιπε τὸ κοινὸν οὐδ'
ἐρρύη πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους.

secret. Moreover, Brutus and Cassius were greeted more warmly than usual by Popilius Laenas, a senator, who then whispered quietly to them: "I join you in praying for the accomplishment of what you have in mind, and exhort you not to delay, for the matter is on men's tongues." Having said this, he went away, leaving them full of suspicion that their undertaking had become known.

At this juncture, too, a messenger from his house came running to Brutus with the tidings that his wife was dead. For Porcia, being distressed about what was impending and unable to bear the weight of her anxiety, could with difficulty keep herself at home, and at every noise or cry, like women in the Bacchic frenzy, she would rush forth and ask every messenger who came in from the forum how Brutus was faring, and kept sending out others continually. Finally, as the time grew long, her bodily powers could no longer endure the strain, but were relaxed and enfeebled as her perplexities threatened to drive her mad. She had not time to go to her chamber, but just as she was, sitting in the midst of her servants, she was overwhelmed with faintness and helpless stupor, her colour fled, and her speech was utterly stayed. Her maids shrieked at the sight, and since the neighbours came running in a crowd to the door, a report speedily went forth and a story was spread abroad that she was dead. However, she revived in a short time, came to herself, and was cared for by her women; but Brutus, though he was confounded, naturally, by the startling tale, nevertheless did not abandon his public duty, nor was he driven by his affliction to dwell on his private concerns.

XVI. Ἤδη δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀπηγγέλλετο προσιὼν ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀθυμῶν μηδὲν ἐπικυροῦν τότε τῶν μειζόνων, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλεσθαι σκηψάμενος ἀσθένειαν. ἐκβάντι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ φορείου προσρυεὶς Ποπίλιος Λαίνας, ἐκεῖνος ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εὐξάμενος τοῖς περὶ Βροῦτον ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ κατορθοῦν, διελέγετο πλείω χρόνον ἐφισταμένῳ καὶ προσέχοντι
2 τὸν νοῦν. οἱ δὲ συνωμόται (λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως) τῆς μὲν φωνῆς οὐκ ἐπαΐοντες αὐτοῦ, τεκμαιρόμενοι δ' ἀφ' ὧν ὑπενόουν μήνυσιν εἶναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὴν κοινολογίαν, ἀνέπεσόν τε ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔβλεψαν ἀνθομολογούμενοι διὰ τῶν προσώπων ὡς χρὴ μὴ περιμένειν σύλληψιν,
3 ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀποθνήσκειν δι' αὑτῶν. Κασσίου δ' ἤδη καί τινων ἄλλων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβεβληκότων ταῖς λαβαῖς ὑπὸ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ σπωμένων τὰ ἐγχειρίδια, Βροῦτος ἐγκατιδὼν τῷ τοῦ Λαίνα σχήματι δεομένου σπουδὴν καὶ οὐχὶ κατηγοροῦντος, ἐφθέγξατο μὲν οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἀναμεμῖχθαι, φαιδρῷ δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ
4 τοὺς περὶ Κάσσιον ἐθάρρυνε. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὁ Λαίνας τὴν δεξιὰν τοῦ Καίσαρος καταφιλήσας ἀπέστη, φανερὸς γενόμενος ὡς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ τινος διαφερόντων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἔντευξιν.

XVII. Τῆς δὲ βουλῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξέδραν προεισελθούσης οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸν δίφρον τοῦ Καίσαρος περιέστησαν ὡς ἐντυγχάνειν τι μέλλοντες αὐτῷ. καὶ Κάσσιον μὲν λέγεται τρέποντα τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Πομπηΐου παρακαλεῖν ὥσπερ

XVI. And now word was brought that Caesar was coming, borne on a litter. For in consequence of the dejection caused by his omens, he had determined not to sanction any important business at that time, but to postpone it, under pretext of indisposition. As he descended from his litter, Popilius Laenas, who, a little while before, had wished Brutus success in his enterprise, hurried up to him and conversed with him for some time, and Caesar stood and listened to him. The conspirators (for so they shall be called) could not hear what he said, but judging from their suspicions that what he told Caesar was a revelation of their plot, they were disconcerted in their plans, and mutually agreed by looks which passed between them that they must not await arrest, but at once dispatch themselves. Cassius and some others, indeed, had already grasped the handles of the daggers beneath their robes and were about to draw them, when Brutus observed from the mien of Laenas that he was asking eagerly for something and not denouncing anyone. Brutus said nothing, because many were about him who were not in the plot, but by the cheerfulness of his countenance gave courage to Cassius and his friends. And after a little while Laenas kissed Caesar's hand and withdrew. He had made it clear that it was in his own behalf and on something which closely concerned himself that he had consulted Caesar.

XVII. When the senate had preceded Caesar into the session-room, the rest of the conspirators stationed themselves about Caesar's chair, as if they intended to have some conference with him, and Cassius is said to have turned his face towards the statue of Pompey and to have invoked it, as if it had understanding;

αἰσθανόμενον, Τρεβώνιος δὲ περὶ τὰς θύρας
Ἀντώνιον ἐπισπασάμενος καὶ προσομιλῶν ἔξω
2 κατέσχε. Καίσαρι δὲ εἰσιόντι μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος
ὑπεξανέστη, καθεζόμενον δ' εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνοι περι-
έσχον ἀθρόοι, Τίλλιον Κίμβρον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν προ-
βάλλοντες ὑπὲρ ἀδελφοῦ φυγάδος δεόμενον·
καὶ συνεδέοντο πάντες, ἀπτόμενοί τε χειρῶν καὶ
στέρνα καὶ κεφαλὴν κατεφίλουν. ἀποτριβομένου
δὲ τὰς δεήσεις τὸ πρῶτον, εἶθ', ὡς οὐκ ἀνίεσαν,
ἐξανισταμένου βίᾳ, Τίλλιος μὲν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς
χερσὶν ἐκ τῶν ὤμων κατέσπασε τὸ ἱμάτιον,
Κάσκας δὲ πρῶτος (εἱστήκει γὰρ ὄπισθεν)
ἀνασπάσας τὸ ξίφος διελαύνει, οὐκ εἰς βάθος,
3 παρὰ τὸν ὦμον. ἀντιλαμβανομένου δὲ τῆς λαβῆς
τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ μέγα Ῥωμαϊστὶ ἀνακραγόντος,
"Ἀνόσιε Κάσκα, τί ποιεῖς;" ἐκεῖνος Ἑλληνιστὶ
τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσαγορεύσας ἐκέλευσε βοηθεῖν.
ἤδη δὲ παιόμενος ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ κύκλῳ περι-
βλέπων καὶ διώσασθαι βουλόμενος, ὡς εἶδε
Βροῦτον ἑλκόμενον ξίφος ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὴν χεῖρα
τοῦ Κάσκα κρατῶν ἀφῆκε, καὶ τῷ ἱματίῳ τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἐγκαλυψάμενος παρέδωκε τὸ σῶμα ταῖς
4 πληγαῖς. οἱ δ' ἀφειδῶς ἀναπεπλεγμένοι πολλοῖς
περὶ τὸ σῶμα χρώμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀλλήλους
ἐτίτρωσκον, ὥστε καὶ Βροῦτον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα
πληγὴν λαβεῖν τοῦ φόνου συνεφαπτόμενον, πίμ- 992
πλασθαι δὲ τοῦ αἵματος ἅπαντας.

XVIII. Οὕτω δ' ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ Βροῦτος
μὲν εἰς μέσον προελθὼν ἐβούλετο λέγειν καὶ

but Trebonius drew Antony into conversation at the door and kept him outside.[1] As Caesar entered, the senate rose in his honour, but as soon as he was seated the conspirators surrounded him in a body, putting forward Tullius Cimber of their number with a plea in behalf of his brother, who was in exile. The others all joined in his plea, and clasping Caesar's hands, kissed his breast and his head. At first, Caesar merely rejected their pleas, and then, when they would not desist, tried to free himself from them by force. At this, Tullius tore Caesar's robe from his shoulders with both hands, and Casca, who stood behind him, drew his dagger and gave him the first stab, not a deep one, near the shoulder. Caesar caught the handle of the dagger and cried out loudly in Latin: "Impious Casca, what doest thou?" Then Casca, addressing his brother in Greek, bade him come to his aid. And now Caesar had received many blows and was looking about and seeking to force his way through his assailants, when he saw Brutus setting upon him with drawn dagger. At this, he dropped the hand of Casca which he had seized, covered his head with his robe, and resigned himself to the dagger-strokes. The conspirators, crowding eagerly about the body, and plying their many daggers, wounded one another, so that Brutus also got a wound in the hand as he sought to take part in the murder, and all were covered with blood.

XVIII. Caesar thus slain, Brutus went out into the middle of the session-room and tried to speak, and

[1] In *Caesar*, lxvi. 3, Brutus Albinus is incorrectly said to have detained Antony in conversation. Cf. Appian, *B.C.* ii. 117, and Cicero's letter to Trebonius (*Epist.* x. 28).

κατεῖχε θαρρύνων τὴν σύγκλητον· ἡ δ' ὑπὸ δέους ἔφευγεν ἀτάκτως, καὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας ὠθισμὸς ἦν καὶ τάραχος, οὐδενὸς διώκοντος οὐδὲ κατεπείγοντος. ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐδέδοκτο μηδένα κτείνειν ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακα-
2 λεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, ὁπηνίκα διεσκοποῦντο τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἤρεσκεν Ἀντώνιον ἐπισφάττειν Καίσαρι, μοναρχικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ὑβριστήν, ἰσχύν τε πεποιημένον ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ πρὸς τὸ στρατιωτικόν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τῷ φύσει σοβαρῷ καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονι προσειλήφει τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα τότε Καίσαρι συνάρχων. ἀλλὰ Βροῦτος ἐνέστη πρὸς τὸ βούλευμα, πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυριζόμενος τῷ δικαίῳ, δεύτερον δ' ὑπο-
3 τιθεὶς ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἀπεγίνωσκεν εὐφυᾶ καὶ φιλότιμον ἄνδρα καὶ δόξης ἐραστὴν τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἐκποδὼν Καίσαρος γενομένου, συνεφάψεσθαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἐπισπασθέντα τῷ ζήλῳ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντώνιον Βροῦτος περιεποίησεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε φόβῳ μεταβαλὼν ἐσθῆτα δημοτικὴν ἔφυγεν.

4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἐχώρουν, ᾑμαγμένοι τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τὰ ξίφη γυμνὰ δεικνύντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρεκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἦσαν ἀλαλαγμοί, καὶ διαδρομαὶ τῷ πάθει κατὰ τύχην ἐπιγινόμεναι πλείονα τὸν θόρυβον ἐποίησαν· ὡς δ' οὔτε φόνος ἄλλος οὔθ' ἁρπαγή τινος ἐγίνετο τῶν κειμένων, θαρροῦντες ἀνέβαινον οἵ τε βουλευταὶ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ Καπε-

would have detained the senators there with encouraging words; but they fled in terror and confusion, and there was a tumultuous crowding at the door, although no one pressed upon them in pursuit. For it had been firmly decided not to kill any one else, but to summon all to the enjoyment of liberty. All the rest of the conspirators, indeed, when they were discussing their enterprise, had been minded to kill Antony as well as Caesar, since he was a lawless man and in favour of a monarchy, and had acquired strength by familiar association with the soldiery; and particularly because to his natural arrogance and ambition he had added the dignity of the consulship, and was at that time a colleague of Caesar. But Brutus opposed the plan, insisting in the first place on a just course, and besides, holding out a hope of a change of heart in Antony. For he would not give up the belief that Antony, who was a man of good parts, ambitious, and a lover of fame, if once Caesar were out of the way, would assist his country in attaining her liberty, when their example had induced him to follow emulously the nobler course. Thus Antony's life was saved by Brutus; but in the fear which then reigned, he put on a plebeian dress and took to flight.

And now Brutus and his associates went up to the Capitol, their hands smeared with blood, and displaying their naked daggers they exhorted the citizens to assert their liberty. At first, then, there were cries of terror, and the tumult was increased by wild hurryings to and fro which succeeded the disaster; but since there were no further murders and no plundering of property, the senators and many of the common people took heart and went up to

5 τώλιον. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους διελέχθη
Βροῦτος ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πρέποντα τοῖς
πεπραγμένοις. ἐπαινούντων δὲ καὶ κατιέναι
βοώντων θαρροῦντες κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγοράν, οἱ
μὲν ἄλλοι συνεπόμενοι μετ' ἀλλήλων, Βροῦτον
δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν περιέποντες ἐν μέσῳ
πάνυ λαμπρῶς κατῆγον ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ
6 κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων. πρὸς δὲ τὴν
ὄψιν οἱ πολλοί, καίπερ μιγάδες ὄντες καὶ παρε-
σκευασμένοι θορυβεῖν, διέτρεσαν καὶ τὸ μέλλον
ἐδέχοντο κόσμῳ καὶ σιωπῇ. προελθόντος δ'
αὐτοῦ πάντες ἡσυχίαν τῷ λόγῳ παρέσχον· ὅτι
δ' οὐ πᾶσι πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐγεγόνει τὸ ἔργον, ἐδήλω-
σαν ἀρξαμένου λέγειν Κίννα καὶ κατηγορεῖν
Καίσαρος ἀναρρηγνύμενοι πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ κακῶς
τὸν Κίνναν λέγοντες, ὥστε πάλιν τοὺς ἄνδρας
7 εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀπελθεῖν. ἔνθα δὴ δεδιὼς
πολιορκίαν ὁ Βροῦτος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς ἀρίστους
τῶν συναναβάντων, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τῆς αἰτίας μὴ
μετέχοντας αὐτοὺς συνυποδύεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον.

XIX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς βουλῆς
συνελθούσης εἰς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν, Ἀντωνίου δὲ
καὶ Πλάγκου καὶ Κικέρωνος εἰπόντων περὶ ἀμνη-
στίας καὶ ὁμονοίας, ἔδοξε μὴ μόνον ἄδειαν εἶναι
τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ τιμῶν
προθεῖναι τοὺς ὑπάτους. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιψηφισά-
2 μενοι διελύθησαν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὸ
Καπετώλιον ὁμηρεύσοντα πέμψαντος κατῆλθον
οἱ περὶ Βροῦτον, ἀσπασμοί τε καὶ δεξιώσεις

the men on the Capitol. When the multitude was assembled there, Brutus made a speech calculated to win the people and befitting the occasion. The audience applauding his words and crying out to him to come down from the Capitol, the conspirators took heart and went down into the forum. The rest of them followed along in one another's company, but Brutus was surrounded by many eminent citizens, escorted with great honour down from the citadel, and placed on the rostra. At sight of him the multitude, although it was a mixed rabble and prepared to raise a disturbance, was struck with awe, and awaited the issue in decorous silence. Also when he came forward to speak, all paid quiet attention to his words; but that all were not pleased with what had been done was made manifest when Cinna began to speak and to denounce Caesar. The multitude broke into a rage and reviled Cinna so bitterly that the conspirators withdrew again to the Capitol. There Brutus, who feared that they would be besieged, sent away the most eminent of those who had come up with them, not deeming it right that they should incur the danger too, since they had no share in the guilt.

XIX. However, on the following day the senate met in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero spoke in favour of amnesty and concord. It was then voted not only that the conspirators should have immunity, but also that the consuls should lay before the people a measure to pay them honours. After passing these votes, the senate broke up. Then, when Antony had sent his son to the Capitol as a hostage, Brutus and his associates came down, and there were salutations and greetings for

ἐγένοντο πάντων ἀναμιχθέντων. καὶ Κάσσιον μὲν Ἀντώνιος εἱστία παραλαβών, Βροῦτον δὲ Λέπιδος, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους, ὥς τις εἶχε πρὸς ἕκαστον
3 ἢ συνηθείας ἢ φιλοφροσύνης. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν συνελθόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ τιμὰς ἔδοσαν ὡς καταπαύσαντι πολέμων ἐμφυλίων ἀρχήν· ἔπειτα τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον ἦσαν ἔπαινοι τῶν παρόντων, καὶ τέλος ἐπαρχιῶν διανομαί. Βρούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐψηφίσαντο Κρήτην, 993
Κασσίῳ δὲ Λιβύην, Τρεβωνίῳ δὲ Ἀσίαν καὶ Κίμβρῳ Βιθυνίαν, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ Βρούτῳ τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν Γαλατίαν.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν Καίσαρος διαθηκῶν καὶ ταφῆς αὐτοῦ λόγων ἐμπεσόντων, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀξιούντων τάς τε διαθήκας ἀναγνωσθῆναι καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐκφορὰν γενέσθαι μὴ κεκρυμμένην μηδ' ἄτιμον, ὡς μὴ καὶ τοῦτο παροξύνῃ τὸν δῆμον, Κάσσιος μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶξε δὲ Βροῦτος καὶ συνεχώρησε, δεύ-
2 τερον ἁμαρτεῖν τοῦτο δόξας. καὶ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου φεισάμενος αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ἐπιτειχίσαι τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ βαρὺν καὶ δύσμαχον πολέμιον, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ὃν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἠξίου τρόπον ἐάσας γενέσθαι τοῦ παντὸς σφαλῆναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις δεδομένων κατ' ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίοις πᾶσι δραχμῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κήπων ἀπολελειμμένων, οὗ νῦν ἐστι Τύχης ἱερόν, εὔνοια θαυμαστὴ καὶ
3 πόθος αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολίτας εἷλεν· ἔπειτα τοῦ σώματος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κομισθέντος Ἀντώνιος ἔπαινον, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστί, διεξελθών, καὶ τὰ πλήθη κινούμενα πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὁρῶν, εἰς οἶκτον

all without discrimination. Cassius was taken home and entertained by Antony, Brutus by Lepidus, and the rest by their several comrades or friends. Early next morning the senate assembled again. In the first place, they gave a vote of thanks to Antony for having stopped an incipient civil war; next, they passed a vote of commendation for the followers of Brutus who were present; and finally, they distributed the provinces. It was voted that Brutus should have Crete, Cassius Africa, Trebonius Asia, Cimber Bithynia, and the other Brutus Cisalpine Gaul.

XX. After this, the subjects of Caesar's will and of his burial came up for discussion. Antony demanded that the will should be read publicly, and that the body should be carried forth to burial, not secretly, nor without honours, lest this also should exasperate the people. Cassius, indeed, vehemently opposed these measures, but Brutus yielded and agreed to them, thus making a second mistake, as it was thought. For by sparing Antony's life as he had done he incurred the charge of raising up against the conspirators a bitter and formidable foe; and now, in allowing Caesar's funeral rites to be conducted as Antony demanded, he committed a fatal error. For, in the first place, when it was found that the will of Caesar gave to every single Roman seventy-five drachmas, and left to the people his gardens beyond the Tiber, where now stands a temple of Fortune, an astonishing kindliness and yearning for Caesar seized the citizens; and in the second place, after Caesar's body had been brought to the forum, Antony pronounced the customary eulogy, and when he saw that the multitude were moved by his words, changed his tone to one of com-

*μετέβαλε, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν τὴν Καίσαρος
ᾑμαγμένην ἀνέπτυξεν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὰς δια-
κοπὰς καὶ τῶν τραυμάτων τὸ πλῆθος. ἦν οὖν
4 ἰδεῖν οὐδὲν ἔτι κόσμῳ γινόμενον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
ἐβόων τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἀναιρεῖν, οἱ δ', ὥσπερ
ἐπὶ Κλωδίου τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ πρότερον, ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐργαστηρίων τὰ βάθρα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ἀνα-
σπῶντες καὶ συγκομίζοντες εἰς ταὐτὸ παμμεγέθη
πυρὰν ἔνησαν· καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπιθέντες ἐν μέσῳ
πολλῶν μὲν ἱερῶν, πολλῶν δ' ἀσύλων καὶ ἀβε-
βήλων τόπων καθήγιζον. ὡς δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐξέλαμ-
ψεν, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλος προσφερόμενοι καὶ δαλοὺς
ἀνασπῶντες ἡμιφλέκτους διέθεον ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας
τῶν ἀνῃρηκότων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐμπρήσοντες.*
5 *Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εὖ πεφραγμένοι πρότερον
ἀπεκρούσαντο τὸν κίνδυνον· ἦν δέ τις Κίννας,
ποιητικὸς ἀνήρ, οὐδὲν τῆς αἰτίας μετέχων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ φίλος Καίσαρος γεγονώς. οὗτος ὄναρ ᾤετο
καλούμενος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀρνεῖσθαι,
τὸν δὲ λιπαρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι, τέλος δ' ἄγειν
λαβόμενον τῆς χειρὸς εἰς ἀχανῆ τόπον καὶ σκοτει-
νόν, αὐτὸν δ' ἄκοντα καὶ τεθαμβημένον ἕπεσθαι.
6 ταύτην ἰδόντι τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ συνέβη πυρέττειν
διὰ νυκτός· ὅμως δ' ἕωθεν ἐκκομιζομένου τοῦ
σώματος αἰδούμενος μὴ παρεῖναι προῆλθεν εἰς
τὸν ὄχλον ἤδη διαγριαινόμενον. ὀφθεὶς δὲ καὶ
δόξας οὐχ ὅσπερ ἦν Κίννας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ
Καίσαρα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔναγχος λοιδορήσας,
διεσπάσθη.*

passion, and taking the robe of Caesar, all bloody as it was, unfolded it to view, pointing out the many places in which it had been pierced and Caesar wounded. All further orderly procedure was at an end, of course; some cried out to kill the murderers, and others, as formerly in the case of Clodius the demagogue,[1] dragged from the shops the benches and tables, piled them upon one another, and thus erected a huge pyre; on this they placed Caesar's body, and in the midst of many sanctuaries, asylums, and holy places, burned it. Moreover, when the fire blazed up, people rushed up from all sides, snatched up half-burnt brands, and ran round to the houses of Caesar's slayers to set them on fire.

These men, indeed, having previously barricaded themselves well, repelled the danger; but there was a certain Cinna, a poet, who had no share in the crime, but was actually a friend of Caesar's. This man dreamed that he was invited to supper by Caesar and declined to go, but that Caesar besought and constrained him, and finally took him by the hand and led him into a yawning and darksome place, whither he followed unwilling and bewildered. After having this vision, he fell into a fever which lasted all night; but in the morning, nevertheless, when the funeral rites were held over Caesar's body, he was ashamed not to be present, and went out into the crowd when it was already becoming savage. He was seen, however, and being thought to be, not the Cinna that he really was, but the one who had recently reviled Caesar before the assembled people, he was torn in pieces.

[1] Clodius was killed in a street-brawl with Milo, 52 B.C. Cf. *Cicero*, xxv. 1.

XXI. Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος μάλιστα μετά γε τὴν
Ἀντωνίου μεταβολὴν δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Βροῦτον
ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ διέτριβον ἐν
Ἀντίῳ τὸ πρῶτον ὡς, ὅταν παρακμάσῃ καὶ
μαρανθῇ τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, αὖθις εἰς Ῥώμην κατι-
όντες. ὃ ῥᾳδίως ἔσεσθαι προσεδόκων ἐν πλήθεσι
φορὰς ἀσταθμήτους καὶ ταχείας φερομένοις, καὶ
τὴν σύγκλητον εὔνουν ἔχοντες, ἣ τοὺς Κίνναν
διασπασαμένους χαίρειν ἐάσασα τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς
οἰκίας τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπελθόντας ἀνεζήτει καὶ
2 συνελάμβανεν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀχθόμενος,
Ἀντωνίου σχεδὸν εἰς μοναρχίαν καθισταμένου,
Βροῦτον ἐπόθει· καὶ προσεδοκᾶτο τὰς θέας ἄξειν
παρὼν αὐτός, ἃς ὤφειλε στρατηγῶν παρασχεῖν.
αἰσθόμενος δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος
ἐστρατευμένων καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλεις παρ' ἐκείνου
λαβόντων ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους
παρεισρέοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν ἐλ-
θεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος ἐθεᾶτο μὴ παρόντος ἐκείνου 994
τὰς θέας, ἀφειδῶς πάνυ χορηγουμένας καὶ περιτ-
3 τῶς. θηρία τε γὰρ πάμπολλα συνεωνημένος
ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ἀποδόσθαι μηδ' ὑπολιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ
πᾶσι καταχρήσασθαι, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον
τεχνιτῶν αὐτὸς εἰς Νέαν πόλιν καταβὰς ἐνέτυχε
πλείστοις· περὶ δὲ Κανουτίου τινὸς εὐημεροῦντος
ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔγραφε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὅπως
πείσαντες αὐτὸν εἰσαγάγωσιν· Ἑλλήνων γὰρ
οὐδένα βιασθῆναι προσήκειν. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ
Κικέρωνι, πάντως παρατυχεῖν ταῖς θέαις δεόμενος.

XXI. This incident more than anything else, except, perhaps, Antony's change of heart, frightened Brutus and his adherents, and they withdrew from the city. At first they spent some time in Antium, with the idea of returning to Rome when the people's wrath had passed its climax and subsided. This they thought would readily come to pass, since multitudes are fickle and impetuous, and, besides, they had the senate in their favour, which let those who tore Cinna to pieces go unpunished, and yet tried to seek out and arrest those who had assaulted the houses of the conspirators. Already, too, the people were disturbed because Antony was assuming almost absolute power, and they longed for Brutus; it was also expected that he would be present in person and conduct the spectacles which it was his duty as praetor to furnish. But Brutus learned that many of the veteran soldiers of Caesar who had received land and cities from their commander, were now plotting against his life and in small bands streaming into the city. He therefore had not the courage to come. The people, however, had their spectacles, in spite of his absence, and these were very lavishly and magnificently appointed. For Brutus had purchased a great number of wild beasts, and now gave orders that not one should be sold or left behind, but that all should be used; and he himself went down to Naples and conferred with a very large number of actors; and regarding Canutius, an actor who enjoyed great fame, he wrote to his friends that they should persuade him to go to Rome; for no Greek could properly be compelled to go. He wrote also to Cicero, begging him by all means to attend the spectacles.

XXII. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἑτέρα γίνεται μεταβολὴ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἐπελθόντος. οὗτος ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀδελφιδῆς Καίσαρος, γράμματι δὲ παῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
2 κληρονόμος ἀπολελειμμένος. ἐν δ' Ἀπολλωνίᾳ διέτριβεν ὅτε Καῖσαρ ἀνῃρέθη, σχολάζων περὶ λόγους κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ Πάρθους ἐλαύνειν εὐθὺς ἐγνωκότα προσμένων. ἅμα δὲ τῷ πυθέσθαι τὸ πάθος ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην· καὶ δημαγωγίας ἀρχὴν τοὔνομα Καίσαρος θέμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ διανέμων τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἀργύριον τοῖς πολίταις Ἀντώνιόν τε κατεστασίαζε καὶ χρήματα διαδιδοὺς συνίστη καὶ συνῆγε πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐστρατευ-
3 μένων.[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων τῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μίσει τὰ Καίσαρος ἔπραττε, τούτῳ μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐπέπληττεν ἰσχυρῶς, γράφων ὡς οὐ δεσπότην βαρύνοιτο Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ μισοῦντα δεσπότην φοβοῖτο, καὶ πολιτεύοιτο δουλείας αἵρεσιν φιλανθρώπου γράφων καὶ λέγων ὡς χρηστός ἐστι Καῖσαρ. "Οἱ δὲ πρόγονοι," φησίν, "ἡμῶν οὐδὲ
4 πρᾴους δεσπότας ὑπέμενον." αὐτῷ δ' εἰς τοῦτο καιροῦ μήτε πολεμεῖν βεβαίως δεδόχθαι μήτε ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλ' ἓν μόνον εἶναι βεβουλευμένον, τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν· θαυμάζειν δὲ Κικέρωνος, εἰ πόλεμον μὲν ἐμφύλιον καὶ κινδυνώδη δέδοικεν, αἰσχρὰν δὲ καὶ ἄδοξον εἰρήνην οὐ φοβεῖται, τοῦ δ' Ἀντώνιον ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰτεῖ τὸ Καίσαρα καταστῆσαι τύραννον.

XXIII. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρώταις ἐπιστολαῖς τοιοῦτος ὁ Βροῦτος· ἤδη δὲ τῶν μὲν ὡς Καίσαρα, τῶν δ' ὡς Ἀντώνιον διϊσταμένων, ὠνίων δὲ τῶν

[1] ἐστρατευμένων as in xxi. 2: στρατευομένων.

XXII. Matters were at such a pass when a fresh turn was given to them by the arrival of the young Caesar. He was a son of Caesar's niece, but had been formally adopted by him, and left his heir. He was pursuing his studies at Apollonia when Caesar was killed, and had been awaiting him there after his determination to march at once against the Parthians. As soon as he learned of Caesar's fate, he came to Rome, and as a first step towards winning the favour of the people, assumed the name of Caesar and distributed to the citizens the money which had been left them by his will. Thus he deposed Antony from popular favour, and by a lavish use of money assembled and got together many of Caesar's veteran soldiers. When Cicero was led by his hatred of Antony to take the side of Octavius Caesar, Brutus rebuked him severely, writing that Cicero did not object to a despot as such, but only feared a despot who hated him, and that when he declared in his letters and speeches that Octavius was a worthy man, his policy meant the choice of a kindly slavery. "Our ancestors, however," said he, "could not endure even gentle despots." As for himself, he had not as yet definitely decided, he said, either for war or for peace, but on one thing only was he determined, and that was not to be a slave; and he was amazed, he said, that Cicero dreaded a civil war with all its perils, but was not afraid of a shameful and inglorious peace, and that, as a reward for driving Antony from the tyranny, he asked the privilege of making Octavius tyrant.

XXIII. Thus, then, did Brutus express himself in his first letters to Cicero. But already one faction was forming about Octavius, and another about

στρατοπέδων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κήρυκι προστιθεμένων τῷ πλέον διδόντι, παντάπασι καταγνοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων ἔγνω καταλιπεῖν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πεζῇ διὰ Λευκανίας εἰς Ἐλέαν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἧκεν.
2 ὅθεν ἡ Πορκία μέλλουσα πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποτραπέσθαι λανθάνειν μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο περιπαθῶς ἔχουσα, γραφὴ δέ τις αὐτὴν προὔδωκε τἆλλα γενναίαν οὖσαν. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν διάθεσις, προπεμπόμενος Ἕκτωρ ὑπὸ Ἀνδρομάχης κομιζομένης παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ παιδίον, ἐκείνῳ δὲ
3 προσβλεπούσης. ταῦτα θεωμένην τὴν Πορκίαν ἡ τοῦ πάθους εἰκὼν ἐξέτηξεν εἰς δάκρυα· καὶ πολλάκις φοιτῶσα τῆς ἡμέρας ἔκλαιεν. Ἀκιλίου δέ τινος τῶν Βρούτου φίλων τὰ πρὸς Ἕκτορα τῆς Ἀνδρομάχης ἔπη διελθόντος,

> Ἕκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἐσσὶ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
> ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης,

4 μειδιάσας ὁ Βροῦτος, "Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμοί γ'," εἶπε, "πρὸς Πορκίαν ἔπεισι φάναι τὰ τοῦ Ἕκτορος,

> ἱστὸν ἠλακάτην τε καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε·

σώματος γὰρ ἀπολείπεται φύσει τῶν ἴσων ἀνδραγαθημάτων, γνώμῃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀριστεύει." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ τῆς Πορκίας υἱὸς ἱστόρηκε Βύβλος.

XXIV. Ἀναχθεὶς δ' ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔπλει. δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου προθύμως αὐτὸν εὐφημίαις καὶ ψηφίσμασι διῃτᾶτο μὲν παρὰ ξένῳ τινί, Θεομνήστου δ' ἀκροώμενος τοῦ Ἀκαδημιακοῦ καὶ Κρατίππου τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ

Antony, and the soldiers, as though for sale at auction, flocked to the highest bidder. Altogether despairing, therefore, of the state, Brutus determined to abandon Italy, and came by land through Lucania to Elea by the sea. As Porcia was about to return thence to Rome, she tried to conceal her distress, but a certain painting betrayed her, in spite of her noble spirit hitherto. Its subject was Greek,—Andromache bidding farewell to Hector; she was taking from his arms their little son, while her eyes were fixed upon her husband. When Porcia saw this, the image of her own sorrow presented by it caused her to burst into tears, and she would visit it many times a day and weep before it. And when Acilius, one of the friends of Brutus, recited the verses containing Andromache's words to Hector,

"But, Hector, thou to me art father and honoured mother
And brother; my tender husband, too, art thou,"

Brutus smiled and said: "But I, certainly, have no mind to address Porcia in the words of Hector,

'Ply loom and distaff and give orders to thy maids,'[1]

for though her body is not strong enough to perform such heroic tasks as men do, still, in spirit she is valiant in defence of her country, just as we are." This story is told by Porcia's son, Bibulus.[2]

XXIV. From thence Brutus put to sea and sailed for Athens. Here the people welcomed him eagerly and extolled him in public decrees. He dwelt with a certain guest-friend, attended the lectures of Theomnestus the Academic and Cratippus the Peripatetic,

[1] *Iliad*, vi. 429 f.; 491. [2] Cf. chapter xiii. 2.

καὶ συμφιλοσοφῶν ἐδόκει παντάπασιν ἀργεῖν καὶ
2 σχολάζειν. ἔπραττε δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον 995
ἀνυπόπτως. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔπεμψεν
Ἡρόστρατον οἰκειούμενος τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ
στρατοπέδων, καὶ τοὺς σχολάζοντας ἀπὸ Ῥώμης
ἐν ἄστει νέους ἀνελάμβανε καὶ συνεῖχεν. ὧν ἦν
καὶ Κικέρωνος υἱός, ὃν ἐπαινεῖ διαφερόντως, καί
φησιν, εἴτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἴτ' ἐνυπνιάζεται, θαυμά-
ζειν οὕτω γενναῖον ὄντα καὶ μισοτύραννον.
3 Ἀρξάμενος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφανδὸν
ἅπτεσθαι, καὶ πυθόμενος πλοῖα Ῥωμαϊκὰ μεστὰ
χρημάτων ἐξ Ἀσίας προσφέρεσθαι καὶ στρατη-
γὸν ἐπιπλεῖν ἄνδρα χαρίεντα καὶ γνώριμον,
ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ Κάρυστον· ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ
πείσας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ πλοῖα λαμπροτέραν
ὑποδοχὴν ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν
4 ἐγεγόνει πρῶτον ὁ Βροῦτος. ὡς οὖν ἐλθόντες εἰς
τὸ πίνειν ἐπιχύσεις ἐποιοῦντο νίκης τε Βρούτου
καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς
ῥῶσαι βουλόμενος ᾔτησε ποτήριον μεῖζον· καὶ
λαβών, ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως ἀνεφώνησε τὸν
στίχον τοῦτον·

ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός.

5 ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἱστοροῦσιν, ὅτε τὴν
τελευταίαν ἐν Φιλίπποις μαχούμενος ἐξῄει μά-
χην, σύνθημα παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις
Ἀπόλλωνα δοθῆναι. διὸ καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς
τίθενται σημεῖον ἐκείνην τὴν ἀναφώνησιν.

discussed philosophy with them, and was thought to be wholly given up to literary pursuits. But without any one's suspecting it, he was getting ready for war. For he sent Herostratus into Macedonia, desiring to win over the commanders of the armies there, and he united in his service all the young Romans who were studying at Athens. One of these was Cicero's son, on whom he bestows high praise, declaring that whether awake or asleep and dreaming, he was amazed to find him of such a noble spirit and such a hater of tyranny.

Afterwards he began to act openly, and having learned that Roman transports full of treasure were approaching from Asia, and that an accomplished and well-known man was in command of them, he went to meet him at Carystus. After conferring with him and persuading him to hand over the transports, he prepared an entertainment of unusual splendour; for it was Brutus's birthday. Accordingly, when they were come to their wine, and were pledging "Victory to Brutus," and "Liberty to the Romans," wishing to animate them still more, Brutus called for a larger beaker, and then, when he had received it, without any ostensible reason, recited this verse:—

"But I am slain by baleful Fate and Leto's son."[1]

And still further, in addition to this, historians tell us that when he was going out to fight his last battle at Philippi, the watchword which he gave out to his soldiers was "Apollo."[1] Therefore they conclude that when he recited that verse, it also was a presage of his calamity.

[1] Patroclus to Hector, *Iliad*, xvi. 849. Leto's son was Apollo, and the name was thought to mean *Destroyer*.

XXV. Ἐκ τούτου πεντήκοντα μὲν αὐτῷ μυριάδας Ἀντίστιος ἀφ' ὧν ἦγε καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ἰταλίαν χρημάτων δίδωσιν, ὅσοι δὲ περὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἔτι τῆς Πομπηΐου στρατιᾶς ἐπλανῶντο συνέρρεον ἀσμένως πρὸς αὐτόν· ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους ἀφείλετο Κίννα πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν ἄγοντος εἰς
2 Ἀσίαν. ἐπιπλεύσας τε τῇ Δημητριάδι, πολλῶν ὅπλων ἐξαγομένων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἃ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου κελεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Παρθικὸν ἐποιήθη πόλεμον, ἐκράτησεν. Ὁρτησίου δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραδόντος αὐτῷ Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν συνισταμένων καὶ προστιθεμένων, ἀγγέλλεται Γάϊος, ὁ Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφός, ἐξ Ἰταλίας διαβεβηκὼς βαδίζειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἃς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ
3 καὶ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ Βατίνιος συνεῖχε. βουλόμενος οὖν φθάσαι καὶ προλαβεῖν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐξαίφνης ἀναστήσας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ χωρίων χαλεπῶν νιφόμενος ἐπορεύετο· καὶ πολὺ προῆλθε τοὺς κομίζοντας τὸ ἄριστον. ἐγγὺς οὖν Ἐπιδάμνου γενόμενος διὰ κόπον καὶ ψῦχος ἐβουλιμίασε. συμπίπτει δὲ μάλιστα τὸ πάθος χιόνος οὔσης
4 πονοῦσι καὶ κτήνεσι καὶ ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε τοῦ θερμοῦ διὰ περίψυξιν καὶ πύκνωσιν, ὅταν ἐντὸς ἅπαν καθειρχθῇ, τὴν τροφὴν ἀθρόως ἀναλίσκοντος, εἴτε δριμεῖα καὶ λεπτὴ τῆς χιόνος διαλυομένης ἰοῦσα πνοὴ τέμνει τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαφθείρει τὸ θερμὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ θύραζε διασπειρόμενον. τὰς γὰρ ἐφιδρώσεις παρέχειν δοκεῖ τὸ θερμὸν ἀπαν-

XXV. After this, Antistius[1] gave him five hundred thousand drachmas from the moneys which he was personally taking to Italy, and all Pompey's soldiers who were still wandering about Thessaly gladly flocked to his standard. He also took from Cinna five hundred horsemen that he was conducting to Dolabella in Asia. Then sailing to Demetrias, whence great quantities of arms, which the elder Caesar had ordered to be made for his Parthian war, were being conducted to Antony, he took possession of them. After Hortensius the praetor had delivered up Macedonia to him, and while all the surrounding kings and potentates were uniting on his side, word was brought that Caius, the brother of Antony, had crossed over from Italy and was marching directly to join the forces under Vatinius in Epidamnus and Apollonia. Wishing, therefore, to anticipate his arrival and capture these forces, Brutus suddenly set out with the forces under him and marched through regions difficult of passage, in snow storms, and far in advance of his provision-train. Accordingly, when he had nearly reached Epidamnus, fatigue and cold gave him the distemper called "boulimia." This attacks more especially men and beasts toiling through snow;[2] whether it is that the vital heat, being wholly shut up within the body by the cold that surrounds and thickens it, consumes its nourishment completely, or that a keen and subtle vapour arising from the melting snow pierces the body and destroys its heat as it issues forth. For the sweat of the body seems to be produced by its heat, and this is extinguished

[1] A mistake for Appuleius (Cicero, *Philippics*, x. 11; Appian, *B.C.* iii. 63), who was quaestor in Asia.

[2] As it did the "Ten Thousand" in Armenia (Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. 5, 7 f.).

τῶντι τῷ ψυχρῷ περὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν σβεννύμενον. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ἑτέροις μᾶλλον ἠπόρηται.

XXVI. Λιποθυμοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου καὶ μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μηδὲν ἐδώδιμον, ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καταφυγεῖν· καὶ ταῖς πύλαις προσελθόντες ἄρτον ᾔτουν τοὺς φύλακας. οἱ δὲ διακούσαντες τὸ σύμπτωμα τοῦ Βρούτου παρῆσαν αὐτοὶ καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ κομίζοντες. ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ Βροῦτος, ὡς τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβεν, οὐ μόνον τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι διὰ τούτους φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο.

2 Γάϊος δ' Ἀντώνιος Ἀπολλωνίᾳ προσβαλὼν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἐγγὺς ὄντας ἐκάλει στρατιώτας. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοί τε πρὸς Βροῦτον ᾤχοντο καὶ τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιάτας ᾔσθετο τὰ Βρούτου φρονοῦντας, 996
ἐκλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν εἰς Βουθρωτὸν ἐβάδιζε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπόλλυσι τρεῖς σπείρας καθ' ὁδὸν ὑπὸ Βρούτου κατακοπείσας· ἔπειτα τοὺς περὶ τὴν Βυλλίδα τόπους προκαταληφθέντας ἐπιχειρῶν ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ μάχην συνάψας Κικέρωνι νικᾶ-
3 ται. τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐχρῆτο στρατηγῷ καὶ πολλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ κατώρθωσε. λαβὼν δὲ τὸν Γάϊον ἐν χωρίοις ἑλώδεσι μακρὰν διεσπασμένον οὐκ εἴασεν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιΐππευσε, φείδεσθαι κελεύων, ὡς μετὰ μικρὸν ἰδίων ἐσομένων. ὃ καὶ συνέβη. παρέδοσαν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν στρατηγόν, ὥστε μεγάλην ἤδη περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον
4 δύναμιν εἶναι. χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολὺν ἐν τιμῇ τὸν Γάϊον ἦγε καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἀφῄρει, καίπερ, ὥς φασιν, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ

by the cold which meets it at the surface. But I have discussed this matter more at length elsewhere.[1]

XXVI. Now, since Brutus was faint, and since not one of his soldiers had anything in the shape of food, his attendants were obliged to have recourse to their enemies, and going down to the gate of the city they asked the sentinels for bread. These, when they heard of the mishap of Brutus, came to him themselves, bringing food and drink. Wherefore Brutus, when the city had surrendered to him, treated not only these men humanely, but also all the other citizens for their sake.

When Caius Antonius drew near Apollonia, he summoned the soldiers who were in the vicinity. These, however, went to Brutus, and Caius perceived also that the people of Apollonia favoured the cause of Brutus. He therefore left the city behind and set out for Buthrotum. To begin with, he lost three cohorts on the march, which were cut to pieces by Brutus; next, when he tried to force the positions near Byllis which his opponents had earlier occupied, and joined battle, he was defeated by Cicero. For Brutus employed this young man as general, and won many successes through him. When, however, he came upon Caius in marshy regions and with his forces widely scattered, Brutus would not permit his men to attack them, but rode about giving orders to spare them, in the belief that they would soon be his own. And this actually came to pass. For they surrendered themselves and their general, so that now Brutus had a large force about him. For a long time, then, he held Caius in honour, and would not deprive him of the insignia of his command, although, as we are

[1] Cf., for example, *Morals*, pp. 691 f.

Κικέρωνος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γραφόντων καὶ κελευόν-
των ἀναιρεῖν· ἀρξάμενον δὲ κρύφα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι
διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ποιήσαντα νεωτερισμὸν ἐνθέ-
5 μενος εἰς ναῦν ἐφύλαττε. τῶν δὲ διαφθαρέντων
στρατιωτῶν εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀποστάντων καὶ
καλούντων ἐκεῖ τὸν Βροῦτον, οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο
πάτριον εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους πρὸς τὸν
ἄρχοντα χρῆναι βαδίζοντας αὐτοὺς παραιτεῖσθαι
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις ὀργήν. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ
καὶ δεομένοις συγγνώμην ἔδωκε.

XXVII. Μέλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν
Ἀσίαν ἧκεν ἀγγελία περὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ μετα-
βολῆς. ὁ γὰρ νέος Καῖσαρ ηὐξήθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς
βουλῆς ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον, ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸς ἤδη φοβερὸς ἦν, ὑπατείαν τε μνώ-
μενος παρὰ νόμον, καὶ στρατεύματα τρέφων
2 μεγάλα, τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν δεομένης. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ
ταῦτα τὴν βουλὴν βαρυνομένην καὶ πρὸς τὸν
Βροῦτον ἀφορῶσαν ἔξω καὶ ψηφιζομένην ἐκείνῳ
καὶ βεβαιοῦσαν τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ἔδεισε. καὶ τὸν
μὲν Ἀντώνιον πέμπων εἰς φιλίαν προὐκαλεῖτο,
τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις τῇ πόλει περιστήσας ὑπατείαν
ἔλαβεν, οὔπω πάνυ μειράκιον ὤν, ἀλλ' εἰκοστὸν
ἄγων ἔτος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν.
3 εὐθὺς δὲ δίκας φόνου κατὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον
εἰσῆγεν, ὡς ἄνδρα πρῶτον ἐν ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγί-
σταις ἀνῃρηκότων ἄκριτον· καὶ κατήγορον ἐπέ-
στησε Βρούτου μὲν Λεύκιον Κορνιφίκιον, Κασ-
σίου δὲ Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν. ὠφλίσκανον οὖν
τὰς δίκας ἐρήμας ἀναγκαζομένων φέρειν ψῆφον
4 τῶν δικαστῶν. λέγεται δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος, ὥσπερ

told, Cicero and many others besides wrote to him from Rome and urged him to put the man to death. However, when Caius began to hold secret communications with the officers of Brutus, and incited a revolt, Brutus put him on board a ship and kept him under guard. And when the soldiers who had been corrupted by Caius withdrew to Apollonia and invited Brutus to come to them there, he told them this was not a Roman custom, but that they must come themselves to their commander and seek to avert his wrath at their transgressions. And when they came and asked his pardon, he granted it.

XXVII. But as he was about to cross into Asia, tidings came to him of the change that had taken place at Rome. For Octavius Caesar had been strengthened by the senate against Antony, and after ejecting his rival from Italy, was himself now an object of fear, soliciting the consulship illegally, and maintaining large armies, of which the city had no need. But when he saw that even the senate was displeased at this and turned their eyes abroad to Brutus, confirming him in command of his provinces by their vote, he became afraid. So he sent and invited Antony to become his friend, and then, stationing his forces about the city, secured the consulship, although he was still a mere youth, being in his twentieth year, as he himself has stated in his Commentaries. Straightway, then, he brought indictments for murder against Brutus and his associates, accusing them of having slain the first magistrate of the city without a trial. He appointed Lucius Cornificius to be prosecutor of Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa of Cassius. Accordingly, their cases went by default, the jurors voting under compulsion. And

εἴωθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην καλοῦντος, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπιδήλως στενάξαι, τοὺς δ' ἀρίστους κύψαντας εἰς γῆν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, Πόπλιον δὲ Σιλίκιον ὀφθῆναι δακρύσαντα, καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἕνα
5 τῶν προγραφέντων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ γενέσθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα διαλλαγέντες οἱ τρεῖς, Καῖσαρ, Ἀντώνιος, Λέπιδος, διενείμαντο τὰς ἐπαρχίας σφαγάς τε καὶ προγραφὰς ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων ἐποίησαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κικέρων ἀπέθανε.

XXVIII. Τούτων οὖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπαγγελθέντων ἐκβιασθεὶς ὁ Βροῦτος ἔγραψεν Ὁρτησίῳ κτεῖναι Γάϊον Ἀντώνιον, ὡς δὴ Βρούτῳ τε καὶ Κικέρωνι τιμωρῶν, τῷ μὲν ὄντι φίλῳ, τῷ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γένος προσήκοντι. διὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀντώνιος Ὁρτήσιον ἐν Φιλίπποις λαβὼν τῷ
2 μνήματι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ προσέσφαξε. Βροῦτος δὲ τῆς Κικέρωνος τελευτῆς τῇ αἰτίᾳ φησὶν αἰσχύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ πάθει συναλγεῖν, ἐγκαλεῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλοις· δουλεύειν γὰρ αὐτῶν αἰτίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τυραννούντων, καὶ καρτερεῖν ὁρῶντας καὶ παρόντας ἃ μηδ' ἀκούειν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκτὸν ἦν.

Περαιώσας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἤδη λαμπρὸν ὄντα, ναυτικὸν μὲν ἐξηρτύετο στόλον ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ περὶ Κύζικον, πεζῇ δ' αὐτὸς ἐπιὼν καθίστατο τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις ἐχρη-
3 μάτιζε, καὶ πρὸς Κάσσιον ἔπεμπεν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μετακαλῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀρχὴν κτωμένους 997

it is said that when the herald on the rostra pronounced the customary summons for Brutus to appear, the multitude groaned audibly, while the better classes bowed their heads in silence; and that Publius Silicius was seen to burst into tears, and was for this reason soon afterwards put on the list of the proscribed. After this, the three men, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, were reconciled with one another, distributed the provinces among themselves, and sentenced to death by proscription two hundred men. Among those put to death was Cicero.

XXVIII. Accordingly, when tidings of these events were brought to Macedonia, Brutus felt compelled to write to Hortensius commanding him to kill Caius Antonius, on the plea that he was thus avenging Cicero and Brutus Albinus, one of whom was his friend, and the other his kinsman. For this reason, at a later time, when Antony had captured Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, he slew him on the tomb of his brother. Brutus, however, says that he felt more shame at the cause of Cicero's death than grief at the event itself, and threw the blame upon his friends at Rome. He said their servitude was due to themselves rather than to their tyrants, and that they consented to be eyewitnesses of things of which they ought not even to hear.

He now crossed into Asia with his army,[1] which was already a splendid one, and equipped a fleet in Bithynia and at Cyzicus, while he himself, proceeding by land, settled the affairs of the cities and gave audiences to the potentates of the country. He also sent to Cassius in Syria, recalling him from his expedition to Egypt; for it was not to win empire

[1] About the middle of 43 B.C.

αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐλευθεροῦντας τὴν πατρίδα τὴν δύναμιν, ᾗ καταλύσουσι τοὺς τυράννους, συνάγοντας πλανᾶσθαι· δεῖν οὖν μεμνημένους καὶ φυλάττοντας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν μὴ μακρὰν ἀπηρτῆσθαι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε σπεύδειν καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς πολίταις.

4 Ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἀπήντα· καὶ περὶ Σμύρναν ἀλλήλοις ἐνετύγχανον ἀφ' οὗ πρῶτον ἐν Πειραιεῖ χωρισθέντες ὥρμησαν ὁ μὲν εἰς Συρίαν, ὁ δὲ εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ἦν οὖν ἡδονή τε μεγάλη καὶ θάρσος αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ἑκατέρῳ δυνάμεως.
5 ὁρμήσαντες γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅμοια φυγάδων τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις ἀχρήματοι καὶ ἄνοπλοι, μὴ ναῦν ἐνήρη, μὴ στρατιώτην ἕνα, μὴ πόλιν ἔχοντες, οὐ πολλοῦ πάνυ χρόνου διαγενομένου συνῆλθον εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ χρήμασιν ἀξιόμαχοι διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ὄντες.

XXIX. Ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ἴσον ἔχειν τιμῆς καὶ παρέχειν ὁ Κάσσιος, ἔφθανε δ' ὁ Βροῦτος ὡς τὰ πολλὰ φοιτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡλικίᾳ τε προὔχοντα καὶ σώματι πονεῖν ὁμοίως μὴ δυναμένῳ χρώμενον. ἦν δὲ δόξα Κάσσιον μὲν εἶναι δεινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ὀργῇ δὲ τραχὺν καὶ φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἄρχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ὑγρότερον
2 τῷ γελοίῳ καὶ φιλοσκώπτην· Βροῦτον δὲ λέγουσι δι' ἀρετὴν φιλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, ἐρᾶσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων, μισεῖσθαι δὲ μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι πρᾶος ὁ ἀνὴρ διαφερόντως καὶ μεγα-

for themselves, he said, but to give liberty to their country, that they were wandering about and collecting forces with which to overthrow the tyrants; they must therefore keep their purpose carefully in mind and not get far removed from Italy, but rather hasten thither and give aid to their countrymen.

Cassius obeyed, and as he was returning, Brutus went to meet him. Their interview at Smyrna was the first they had had since they parted at Piraeus and set out, the one for Syria, the other for Macedonia. They therefore derived great pleasure and courage from the forces which each now had. For they had set out from Italy like the most wretched of exiles, without money, without arms, having not a ship equipped with oars, not a single soldier, not a city; but before very long they had met, having a fleet, an army of foot and horse, and money, which made them worthy antagonists in the struggle for supremacy at Rome.

XXIX. Now, Cassius was desirous that Brutus and he should have equal honour, but Brutus forestalled this by coming to him generally, since he was an older man and unable to endure the same amount of hardship. Cassius had the reputation of being an able soldier, but harsh in his anger, and with an authority based largely on fear, although with his familiars he was rather prone to laughter and fond of banter. But the virtues of Brutus, as we are told, made him beloved by the multitude, adored by his friends, admired by the nobility, and not hated even by his enemies. For he was remarkably gentle and

λόφρων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὀργὴν καὶ ἡδονὴν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀπαθής, ὄρθιον δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἄκαμπτον ἑστῶσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου
3 διαφυλάττων. καὶ μέγιστον ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ πρὸς εὔνοιαν καὶ δόξαν ἡ τῆς προαιρέσεως πίστις. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας Πομπήϊος, εἰ Καίσαρα καθεῖλεν, ἠλπίζετο βεβαίως προήσεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὰ πράγματα καθέξειν, ὑπατείας ὀνόματι καὶ δικτατορίας ἤ τινος ἄλλης μαλακωτέρας ἀρχῆς παραμυθούμενος τὸν
4 δῆμον· Κάσσιον δὲ τοῦτον, σφοδρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ θυμοειδῆ καὶ πολλαχοῦ πρὸς τὸ κερδαλέον ἐκφερόμενον τοῦ δικαίου, παντὸς μᾶλλον ᾤοντο πολεμεῖν καὶ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν αὑτῷ τινα δυναστείαν κατασκευαζόμενον, οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τοῖς πολίταις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τούτων πρεσβύτερα, Κίνναι καὶ Μάριοι καὶ Κάρβωνες, ἆθλον ἐν μέσῳ καὶ λείαν προθέμενοι τὴν πατρίδα, μονονουχὶ ῥητῶς ὑπὲρ τυραννίδος ἐπολέμησαν.
5 Βρούτῳ δὲ λέγουσι μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προσβάλλειν τοιαύτην μεταβολήν, ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίου γε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος ὡς μόνον οἴοιτο Βροῦτον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι προαχθέντα τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συστῆναι μισοῦντας
6 καὶ φθονοῦντας. ὅθεν Βροῦτος οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τοσοῦτον ὅσον τῇ ἀρετῇ δῆλός ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν γράφει πεποιθώς. γράφει δὲ πρὸς Ἀττικὸν ἤδη τῷ κινδύνῳ πλησιάζων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς τύχης

large-minded, free from all anger, pleasurable indulgence, and greed, and kept his purpose erect and unbending in defence of what was honourable and just. And the strongest reason for the favour and fame which he achieved was the confidence felt in his principles. For no one had expected that Pompey the Great, if he overthrew Caesar, would insist on dismissing his forces in obedience to the laws, but all thought that he would continue to retain his power, appeasing the people by using the name of consulship or dictatorship or some other less obnoxious form of government. And now it was thought that Cassius, vehement and passionate man that he was, and often swept from the path of justice by his passion for gain, was incurring the perils of wars and wanderings principally to establish some great power for himself, and not liberty for his countrymen. For the men of a still earlier time than Pompey and Cassius, men like Cinna and Marius and Carbo, made their country the booty or prize round which they fought, and they all but confessed that they waged war to establish a tyranny. But Brutus, we are told, was not accused even by his enemies of such a departure from his principles; nay, Antony at least, in the hearing of many, declared that in his opinion Brutus was the only conspirator against Caesar who was impelled by the splendour and by what seemed to him the nobility of the enterprise, whereas the rest banded together against the man because they envied and hated him. Wherefore Brutus relied not so much on his armies as on his virtuous cause, as is clear from his letters. When he was already nearing the perilous crisis, he wrote to Atticus that his cause had the fairest outlook that fortune could bestow,

εἶναι τὰ καθ' αὑτόν· ἢ γὰρ νικήσας ἐλευθερώσειν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἢ δουλείας ἀποθανὼν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς καὶ βεβαίως ἐχόντων ἓν ἄδηλον εἶναι, πότερον
7 *βιώσονται μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἢ τεθνήξονται.* Μάρ*κον δ'* Ἀντώνιον *ἀξίαν φησὶ τῆς ἀνοίας διδόναι δίκην, ὃς ἐν* Βρούτοις *καὶ* Κασσίοις *καὶ* Κάτωσι *συναριθμεῖσθαι δυνάμενος προσθήκην ἑαυτὸν* Ὀκταβίῳ *δέδωκε· κἂν μὴ νῦν ἡττηθῇ μετ' ἐκείνου, μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐκείνῳ μαχεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀποθεσπίσαι καλῶς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔοικεν.*

XXX. Ἐ*ν δὲ τῇ* Σμύρνῃ *τότε τῶν χρημάτων,* 998
ἃ πολλὰ συνειλόχει Κάσσιος, *ἠξίου μεταλαβεῖν· τὰ γὰρ ὄντα κατανηλωκέναι ναυπηγούμενος στόλον τοσοῦτον ᾧ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἕξουσι τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. οὐκ εἴων μὲν οὖν τὸν* Κάσσιον *οἱ φίλοι διδόναι, λέγοντες ὡς οὐ δίκαιον, ἃ σὺ φειδόμενος διαφυλάττεις καὶ φθόνῳ συνάγεις, ἐκεῖνον λαβόντα δημαγωγεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τρίτον*
2 *μέρος ἁπάντων. καὶ πάλιν διαστάντες ἐπὶ τὰς προσηκούσας ἑκατέρῳ πράξεις,* Κάσσιος *μὲν ἑλὼν* Ῥόδον *οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῖς προσαγορεύουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ κύριον ἀποκρινάμενος·* "Οὔτε *βασιλεὺς οὔτε κύριος, τοῦ δὲ κυρίου καὶ βασιλέως φονεὺς καὶ κολαστής."* Βροῦτος *δὲ* Λυκίους *ᾔτει*
3 *χρήματα καὶ στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ* Ναυκράτης *ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἀνέπεισε τὰς πόλεις ἀφίστασθαι καὶ*

for he would either conquer and give liberty to the Roman people, or die and be freed from slavery; and that amid the general security and safety of their lot one thing only was uncertain, namely, whether they were to live as freemen or die. He says also that Mark Antony was paying a fitting penalty for his folly, since, when it was in his power to be numbered with such men as Brutus and Cassius and Cato, he had given himself to Octavius as a mere appendage; and that if he should not now be defeated with him, in a little while he would be fighting him. Herein, then, he seems to have been an excellent prophet.

XXX. At the time when they were in Smyrna, Brutus asked Cassius to give him a part of the large treasure which he had collected, since he had expended what he had himself in building a fleet large enough to give them control of all the Mediterranean. The friends of Cassius, then, tried to dissuade him from giving anything to Brutus, arguing that it was not right that what he was keeping by his frugality and getting together at the price of men's hatred should be taken by Brutus for the winning of popular favour and the gratification of his soldiers. However, Cassius gave him a third of the whole amount. Then they parted again for their respective undertakings. Cassius took Rhodes, but managed matters there with undue rigour, and that too though he had replied to those who hailed him, when he entered the city, as their lord and king, "Neither lord nor king, but chastiser and slayer of your lord and king." Brutus, on his part, demanded money and soldiers from the Lycians. But Naucrates, the popular leader, persuaded the cities to revolt, and

λόφους τινὰς ὡς εἵρξοντες παρόδου τὸν Βροῦτον
κατελάβοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀριστοποιουμένοις αὐ-
τοῖς ἐπέπεμψεν ἱππεῖς, ὑφ' ὧν ἑξακόσιοι διεφθά-
ρησαν, ἔπειτα τὰ χωρία καὶ πολίχνας λαμβάνων
ἀπέλυεν ἄνευ λύτρων ἅπαντας ὡς προσαξόμενος
4 εὐνοίᾳ τὸ ἔθνος. οἱ δ' ἦσαν αὐθάδεις, ἃ μὲν
ἐβλάπτοντο πρὸς ὀργὴν τιθέμενοι, τῆς δ' ἐπιει-
κείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καταφρονοῦντες, ἄχρι
οὗ συνελάσας εἰς Ξάνθον αὐτῶν τοὺς μαχιμωτά-
τους ἐπολιόρκει. τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν
παραρρέοντος ὑπονηχόμενοι διεδίδρασκον. ἡλί-
σκοντο δὲ δικτύων διὰ πόρου καθιεμένων εἰς
βυθόν, ὧν τὰ ἄκρα κώδωσι προσηρτημένοις διε-
5 σήμαινεν εὐθὺς τὸν ἐνσχεθέντα. μηχαναῖς δέ τισι
τῶν Ξανθίων νύκτωρ ἐπιδραμόντων καὶ πῦρ
ἐμβαλόντων, ὡς ἀπεκλείσθησαν αἰσθομένων τῶν
Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν
ἀνερρίπιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τὴν φλόγα τῶν
ἐγγὺς οἰκιῶν ἀντιλαμβανομένην, δείσας ὁ Βροῦτος
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσε κατασβεννύναι καὶ
βοηθεῖν.

XXXI. Τοὺς δὲ Λυκίους δεινή τις ἐξαίφνης πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὁρμὴ καὶ λόγου κρείσσων κατέσχεν, ἣν ἄν τις ἔρωτι θανάτου μάλιστα προσεικάσειεν· οἵ γε μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους πρὸς τὴν φλόγα βοηθοῦντας ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔβαλλον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κάλαμον καὶ ξύλα καὶ πᾶν ὑπέκκαυμα προσφέροντες ἦγον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν

the inhabitants occupied certain commanding hills in order to prevent the passage of Brutus. Brutus, therefore, in the first place, sent horsemen against them while they were at breakfast, and these slew six hundred of them; next, he took their strongholds and villages, but dismissed all his captives without ransom, in order that he might win the people over by kindness. They were obstinate, however, feeding their anger upon their injuries, and despising his clemency and kindness, until he drove the most warlike of them into Xanthus and laid siege to the city. They tried to escape by swimming under the surface of the river which flowed past the city. But they were caught in nets which were let down deep across the channel; the tops of these had bells attached to them which indicated at once when any one was entangled. Then the Xanthians made a sally by night and set fire to some of the siege-engines, but they were perceived by the Romans and driven back to their walls; and when a brisk wind fanned the flames back towards the battlements and some of the adjoining houses took fire, Brutus, fearing for the safety of the city, ordered his men to assist in putting out the fire.

XXXI. But the Lycians were suddenly possessed by a dreadful and indescribable impulse to madness, which can be likened best to a passion for death. At any rate, all ages of them, freemen and slaves with their wives and children, shot missiles from the walls at the enemy who were helping them to combat the flames, and with their own hands brought up reeds and wood and all manner of combustibles, and so spread the fire over the city, feeding it with

τὸ πῦρ, ὀρέγοντες αὐτῷ πᾶσαν ὕλην καὶ πάντα
2 τρόπον ἐξερεθίζοντες καὶ συνεκτρέφοντες. ὡς δ'
ἡ φλὸξ ῥυεῖσα καὶ διαζώσασα πανταχόθεν τὴν
πόλιν διέλαμψε πολλή, περιπαθῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς
γινομένοις ὁ Βροῦτος ἔξωθεν παρίππευε προθυ-
μούμενος βοηθεῖν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγων τοῖς
Ξανθίοις ἐδεῖτο φείδεσθαι καὶ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν,
οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντα τρόπον
3 ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολλύντων, οὐ μόνον ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ
γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ μικρὰ μετὰ
κραυγῆς καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸ πῦρ
ἥλλετο, τὰ δ' ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξετρα-
χήλιζεν αὑτά, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσι τῶν πατέρων
ὑπέβαλλε τὰς σφαγὰς γυμνοῦντα καὶ κελεύοντα
παίειν. ὤφθη δὲ τῆς πόλεως διαφθαρείσης γυνὴ
κρεμαμένη μὲν ἐξ ἀγχόνης, παιδίον δὲ νεκρὸν
ἐξηρτημένη τοῦ τραχήλου, λαμπάδι δὲ καιομένῃ
4 τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάπτουσα. καὶ τοῦ θεάματος τραγι-
κοῦ φανέντος ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Βροῦτος,
ἐδάκρυσε δὲ ἀκούσας· καὶ γέρας ἐκήρυξε τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ὅστις ἂν δυνηθῇ Λύκιον ἄνδρα περι-
σῶσαι. φασὶ δὲ μόνους ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα γενέ-
5 σθαι τοὺς μὴ διαφυγόντας τὸ σωθῆναι. Ξάνθιοι
μὲν οὖν διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων ὥσπερ εἱμαρμένην 999
περίοδον διαφθορᾶς ἀποδιδόντες τὴν τῶν προ-
γόνων ἀνενεώσαντο τῇ τόλμῃ τύχην· καὶ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνοι τὴν πόλιν ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν
κατακαύσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διέφθειραν.

XXXII. Βροῦτος δὲ τὴν Παταρέων πόλιν ὁρῶν
ἀπισχυριζομένην πρὸς αὐτόν, ὤκνει μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖν
καὶ διηπορεῖτο, τὴν αὐτὴν δεδιὼς ἀπόνοιαν, ἔχων

all sorts of material and increasing its strength and fury in every way. When the flames had darted forth and encircled the city on all sides, and blazed out mightily, Brutus, distressed at what was going on, rode round outside the city in his eagerness to help, and with outstretched hands begged the Xanthians to spare and save their city. No one heeded him, however, but all sought in every way to destroy themselves, men and women alike; nay, even the little children with shouts and shrieks either leaped into the fire, or threw themselves headlong from the walls, or cast themselves beneath their fathers' swords, baring their throats and begging to be smitten. After the city had been thus destroyed, a woman was seen dangling in a noose; she had a dead child fastened to her neck, and with a blazing torch was trying to set fire to her dwelling. So tragic was the spectacle that Brutus could not bear to see it, and burst into tears on hearing of it; he also proclaimed a prize for any soldier who should succeed in saving the life of a Lycian. But there were only a hundred and fifty, we are told, who did not escape such preservation. So then the Xanthians, after long lapse of time, as though fulfilling a period set by fate for their destruction, had the boldness to renew the calamity of their ancestors; for these too, in the time of the Persian wars, had likewise burned down their city and destroyed themselves.[1]

XXXII. When Brutus saw that the city of Patara was holding out strongly against him, he hesitated to attack it, and was in perplexity, fearing that it would be afflicted with the same madness; but as

[1] Cf. Herodotus, i. 176.

δὲ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων. αἱ δ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πατέρων ἐπιφανῶν οὖσαι διηγούμεναι τὸν Βροῦτον, ὡς ἀνὴρ εἴη σωφρονέστατος καὶ δικαιότατος, ἔπεισαν εἶξαι
2 καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ προσεχώρησαν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐκείνῳ, τυχόντες δὲ χρηστοῦ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας εὐγνώμονος, ὅς γε, Κασσίου Ῥοδίους ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀναγκάσαντος ἰδίᾳ μὲν ὃν ἐκέκτηντο χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον εἰσενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας (ἐξ οὗ συνήχθη περὶ ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα), δημοσίᾳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἄλλοις πεντακοσίοις ζημιώσαντος, αὐτὸς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα Λυκίους πραξάμενος, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας.

XXXIII. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄξια μνήμης ἔργα καὶ τιμαῖς ἀπεδείξατο καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἀξίων· ᾧ δ' αὐτός τε ἥσθη μάλιστα καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ κράτιστοι, τοῦτο διηγήσομαι. Πομπηΐου Μάγνου προσβαλόντος Αἰγύπτῳ κατὰ Πηλούσιον, ὁπηνίκα τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν ἀποβαλὼν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἔφυγεν, οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος ἐπιτροπεύοντες ἐν βουλῇ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἦσαν, οὐ κατὰ
2 ταὐτὰ ταῖς γνώμαις φερόμενοι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει δέχεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπωθεῖν Αἰγύπτου τὸν ἄνδρα. Θεόδοτος δέ τις Χῖος, ἐπὶ μισθῷ ῥητορικῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος τῷ βασιλεῖ συνών, ἠξιωμένος δὲ τότε τοῦ συνεδρίου δι' ἐρημίαν ἀνδρῶν βελτιόνων, ἀμφοτέρους διαμαρτάνοντας ἀπέφαινε, καὶ τοὺς ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀφεῖναι
3 κελεύοντας τὸν Πομπήϊον· ἓν γὰρ εἶναι συμφέρον

he held some of its women prisoners of war, he released them without ransom. They were the wives and daughters of prominent men, and by rehearsing the praises of Brutus, calling him a man of the greatest moderation and justice, they persuaded them to yield and surrender their city. Consequently all the rest of the Lycians came and entrusted themselves to him, and found that his goodness and kindness exceeded their hopes. For whereas Cassius, about the same time, compelled the Rhodians individually to pay in to him all the gold and silver they possessed (thus accumulating about eight hundred talents), and fined the city as a whole five hundred talents more, Brutus exacted only a hundred and fifty talents from the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, set out with his army for Ionia.

XXXIII. Many were his memorable achievements in meting out rewards or punishments to those who deserved them, but I shall here describe only that in which both he himself and the chief men of Rome took especial pleasure. When Pompey the Great, after he had been stripped of his great power by Caesar, put in as a fugitive at Pelusium in Egypt, the guardians of the boy king were holding a council with their friends, at which opinions differed. Some thought they should receive Pompey, others that they should repulse him from Egypt. But a certain Theodotus, of Chios, who was attached to the king as a paid teacher of rhetoric, and was at this time deemed worthy of a place in the council for lack of better men, declared that both were wrong, both those who would admit and those who would reject Pompey; for there was but one advantageous course

ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, δεξαμένους ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ προσεπεῖπε τοῦ λόγου παυόμενος, ὅτι νεκρὸς οὐ δάκνει. προσθεμένου δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ συνεδρίου παράδειγμα τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων ἔκειτο Πομπήϊος Μάγνος, τῆς Θεοδότου ῥητορείας καὶ δεινότητος ἔργον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ σοφιστὴς ἔλεγε
4 μεγαλαυχούμενος. ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐπελθόντος Καίσαρος, οἱ μὲν δίκας τιννύοντες ἀπώλλυντο κακοὶ κακῶς, Θεόδοτος δὲ παρὰ τῆς τύχης χρόνον εἰς ἄδοξον καὶ ἄπορον καὶ πλάνητα βίον ἐπιδανεισάμενος τότε Βροῦτον ἐπιόντα τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἀναχθεὶς καὶ κολασθεὶς ὄνομα τοῦ θανάτου πλέον ἔσχεν ἢ τοῦ βίου.

XXXIV. Κάσσιον δὲ Βροῦτος εἰς Σάρδεις ἐκάλει, καὶ προσιόντι μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπήντησε· καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ὡπλισμένος αὐτοκράτορας ἀμφοτέρους προσηγόρευσεν. οἷα δ' ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ φίλοις πολλοῖς καὶ ἡγεμόσιν αἰτιῶν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγγενομένων καὶ διαβολῶν, πρὶν ἕτερόν τι ποιεῖν, εὐθὺς ἐκ πορείας καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐν οἰκήματι γενόμενοι κεκλεισμένων τῶν θυρῶν καὶ μηδενὸς παρόντος, ἐχρῶντο μέμψεσι
2 πρῶτον, εἶτ' ἐλέγχοις καὶ κατηγορίαις. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ παρρησίαν μετὰ πάθους ἐκφερομένων, θαυμάζοντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὸν τόνον, ἔδεισαν μή τι ἐκ τούτου γένηται· προσελθεῖν δὲ ἀπείρητο. Μάρκος δὲ Φαώνιος, ἐραστὴς γεγονὼς Κάτωνος, οὐ λόγῳ

in view of the circumstances, and that was to receive him and put him to death. And he added, as he closed his speech, "A dead man does not bite." The council adopted his opinion, and Pompey the Great lay dead, an example of the unexpected and incredible in human life, and it was the work of Theodotus and his clever rhetoric, as that sophist himself was wont to say with boasting.[1] A little while afterwards, however, when Caesar came, the other wretches paid the penalty for their crime and perished wretchedly; as for Theodotus, after borrowing from Fortune enough time for a wandering, destitute, and inglorious life, he did not escape the notice of Brutus, who at this time traversed Asia, but was brought to him and punished, and won more fame for his death than for his life.

XXXIV. Brutus now summoned Cassius to Sardis,[2] and as he drew near, went to meet him with his friends; and the whole army, in full array, saluted them both as Imperators. But, as is wont to be the case in great undertakings where there are many friends and commanders, mutual charges and accusations had passed between them, and therefore, immediately after their march and before they did anything else, they met in a room by themselves. The doors were locked, and, with no one by, they indulged in fault-finding first, then in rebukes and denunciations. After this, they were swept along into passionate speeches and tears, and their friends, amazed at the harshness and intensity of their anger, feared some untoward result; they were, however, forbidden to approach. But Marcus Favonius, who had become a devotee of Cato, and was more impetuous and frenzied

[1] Cf. *Pompey*, chapters lxxvii.-lxxx.
[2] In the early part of 42 B.C.

μᾶλλον ἢ φορᾷ τινι καὶ πάθει μανικῷ φιλοσοφῶν,
ἐβάδιζεν εἴσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν
3 οἰκετῶν. ἀλλ' ἔργον ἦν ἐπιλαβέσθαι Φαωνίου 1000
πρὸς ὁτιοῦν ὀρούσαντος· σφοδρὸς γὰρ ἦν ἐν πᾶσι
καὶ πρόχειρος. ἐπεὶ τό γε βουλευτὴν εἶναι
Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτὸν οὐδενὸς ἄξιον ἡγεῖτο, τῷ δὲ
κυνικῷ τῆς παρρησίας πολλάκις ἀφῄρει τὴν
χαλεπότητα, καὶ τὸ ἄκαιρον αὐτοῦ μετὰ παιδιᾶς
δεχομένων. βίᾳ δὴ τότε τῶν παρόντων διωσά-
μενος τὰς θύρας εἰσῆλθε, μετὰ πλάσματος φωνῆς
ἔπη περαίνων οἷς τὸν Νέστορα χρώμενον Ὅμηρος
πεποίηκεν·

ἀλλὰ πίθεσθ'· ἄμφω δὲ νεωτέρω ἐστὸν ἐμεῖο,

4 καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἐγέλασεν, ὁ
δὲ Βροῦτος ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἁπλόκυνα καὶ ψευδό-
κυνα προσαγορεύων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε τοῦτο
τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορᾶς ποιησάμενοι πέρας
εὐθὺς διελύθησαν. καὶ Κασσίου δεῖπνον παρέ-
χοντος ἐκάλει τοὺς φίλους Βροῦτος. ἤδη δὲ
κατακειμένων Φαώνιος ἧκε λελουμένος· μαρ-
τυρομένου δὲ Βρούτου μὴ κεκλημένον αὐτὸν ἥκειν
καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω κλίνην,
βίᾳ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν μέσην κατεκλίθη· καὶ
παιδιὰν ὁ πότος ἔσχεν οὐκ ἄχαριν οὐδ' ἀφιλό-
σοφον.

XXXV. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Βροῦτος ἄνδρα Ῥω-
μαῖον ἐστρατηγηκότα καὶ πεπιστευμένον ὑπ'

than reasonable in his pursuit of philosophy, tried to go in to them, and was prevented by their servants. It was no easy matter, however, to stop Favonius when he sprang to do anything, for he was always vehement and rash. The fact that he was a Roman senator was of no importance in his eyes, and by the "cynical" boldness of his speech he often took away its offensiveness, and therefore men put up with his impertinence as a joke. And so at this time he forced his way through the bystanders and entered the room, reciting in an affected voice the verses wherein Homer[1] represents Nestor as saying:—

"But do ye harken to me, for ye both are younger
than I am,"

and so forth. At this Cassius burst out laughing; but Brutus drove Favonius out of the room, calling him a mere dog, and a counterfeit Cynic.[2] However, at the time, this incident put an end to their quarrel, and they separated at once. Furthermore, Cassius gave a supper, to which Brutus invited his friends. And as the guests were already taking their places at the feast, Favonius came, fresh from his bath. Brutus protested that he had come without an invitation, and ordered the servants to conduct him to the uppermost couch; but Favonius forced his way past them and reclined upon the central one. And over the wine mirth and jest abounded, seasoned with wit and philosophy.

XXXV. But on the following day Lucius Pella, a Roman who had been praetor and had enjoyed

[1] *Iliad*, i. 259.

[2] A follower of Antisthenes was called a "Cynic," or *dog-like*, probably from the coarse and brutal manners affected by the school.

αὐτοῦ, Λεύκιον Πέλλαν, Σαρδιανῶν κατηγορούντων ἐπὶ κλοπαῖς δημοσίᾳ καταγνοὺς ἠτίμωσε· καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα Κάσσιον οὐ μετρίως ἐλύπησεν. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐλεγχθέντας ἀδικήμασι δύο φίλους ἰδίᾳ νουθετή-
2 σας φανερῶς ἀφῆκε καὶ διετέλει χρώμενος. ὅθεν ᾐτιᾶτο τὸν Βροῦτον ὡς ἄγαν ὄντα νόμιμον καὶ δίκαιον ἐν καιρῷ πολιτείας δεομένῳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας. ὁ δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν τῶν Μαρτίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν μνημονεύειν ἐκείνων, ἐν αἷς Καίσαρα ἔκτειναν, οὐκ αὐτὸν ἄγοντα καὶ φέροντα πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων δύναμιν ὄντα ταῦτα
3 πρασσόντων· ὡς, εἴ τις ἔστι πρόφασις καλὴ μεθ' ἧς ἀμελεῖται τὸ δίκαιον, ἄμεινον ἦν τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους ὑπομένειν ἢ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν περιορᾶν ἀδικοῦντας. "Ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ἀνανδρίας, ἀδικίας δὲ δόξα μετὰ κινδύνων ἡμῖν καὶ πόνων πρόσεστι." τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ Βρούτου προαίρεσις ἦν.

XXXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβαίνειν ἐξ Ἀσίας ἔμελλον, λέγεται τῷ Βρούτῳ μέγα σημεῖον γενέσθαι. φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἐπεγρήγορος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν ὕπνον εἰς ὀλίγου χρόνου μόριον ἀσκήσει καὶ σωφροσύνῃ συνῆγεν, ἡμέρας μὲν οὐδέποτε κοιμώμενος, νύκτωρ δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὔτε τι πράττειν οὔτε τῳ διαλέγεσθαι, πάντων ἀναπαυομένων,
2 παρεῖχε. τότε δὲ τοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων πράξεις, καὶ τεταμένος τῇ φροντίδι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὁπηνίκα πρῶτον ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἐπινυστάξειε τοῖς σιτίοις, ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐχρῆτο τῇ νυκτὶ πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν πραγμάτων. εἰ δὲ συνέλοι καὶ κατοι-

the confidence of Brutus, being denounced by the Sardians as an embezzler of the public moneys, was condemned by Brutus and disgraced; and the matter vexed Cassius beyond measure. For a few days before, when two friends of his had been convicted of the same misdeeds, he had privately admonished them but publicly acquitted them, and continued to employ them. He therefore found fault with Brutus on the ground that he was too observant of law and justice at a time which demanded a policy of kindness. But Brutus bade him remember the Ides of March, on which they had slain Caesar, not because he was himself plundering everybody, but because he enabled others to do this; since, if there is any good excuse for neglecting justice, it had been better for us to endure the friends of Caesar than to suffer our own to do wrong. "For in the one case," said he, "we should have had the reputation of cowardice merely; but now, in addition to our toils and perils, we are deemed unjust." Such were the principles of Brutus.

XXXVI. When they were about to cross over from Asia, Brutus is said to have had a great sign. He was naturally wakeful, and by practice and self-restraint had reduced his hours of sleep to few, never lying down by day, and by night only when he could transact no business nor converse with any one, since all had gone to rest. At this time, however, when the war was begun and he had in his hands the conduct of a life and death struggle, and was anxiously forecasting the future, he would first doze a little in the evening after eating, and then would spend the rest of the night on urgent business. But whenever he had fully met the demands of such

κονομήσειε τὴν περὶ ταῦτα χρείαν, ἀνεγίνωσκε βιβλίον μέχρι τρίτης φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν εἰώθεσαν ἑκατόνταρχοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.
3 ὡς οὖν ἔμελλεν ἐξ Ἀσίας διαβιβάζειν τὸ στράτευμα, νὺξ μὲν ἦν βαθυτάτη, φῶς δ' εἶχεν οὐ πάνυ λαμπρὸν ἡ σκηνή, πᾶν δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον σιωπὴ κατεῖχεν. ὁ δὲ συλλογιζόμενός τι καὶ σκοπῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔδοξεν αἰσθέσθαι τινὸς εἰσιόντος. ἀποβλέψας δὲ πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον ὁρᾷ δεινὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ὄψιν ἐκφύλου σώματος καὶ
4 φοβεροῦ, σιωπῇ παρεστῶτος αὐτῷ. τολμήσας δὲ ἐρέσθαι, "Τίς ποτ' ὤν," εἶπεν, "ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν, ἢ τί βουλόμενος ἥκεις ὡς ἡμᾶς;" Ὑποφθέγγεται δ' αὐτῷ τὸ φάσμα· "Ὁ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὄψει δέ με περὶ Φιλίππους." καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος οὐ διαταραχθείς, "Ὄψομαι," εἶπεν.

XXXVII. Ἀφανισθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκάλει· μήτε δ' ἀκοῦσαί τινα φωνὴν μήτ' ἰδεῖν 1001
ὄψιν φασκόντων, τότε μὲν ἐπηγρύπνησεν· ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τραπόμενος πρὸς Κάσσιον ἔφραζε τὴν ὄψιν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς Ἐπικούρου λόγοις χρώμενος καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔθος ἔχων διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον, "Ἡμέτερος οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ὦ Βροῦτε, λόγος, ὡς οὐ πάντα πάσχομεν ἀληθῶς οὐδ' ὁρῶμεν, ἀλλ' ὑγρὸν μέν τι χρῆμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ἡ αἴσθησις, ἔτι δ' ὀξυτέρα ἡ διάνοια κινεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ μεταβάλλειν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὑπάρχοντος ἐπὶ
2 πᾶσαν ἰδέαν. κηρῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν[1] ἡ τύπωσις, ψυχῇ δ' ἀνθρώπου, τὸ πλαττόμενον καὶ τὸ πλάττον ἐχούσῃ τὸ αὐτό, ῥᾷστα ποικίλλειν αὐτὴν

[1] ἔοικεν Bekker adopts the early anonymous correction to ἔξωθεν (*on wax the impression is outside, but the soul, etc.*).

business in shorter time, he would read a book until the third watch, at which hour the centurions and tribunes usually came to him. Once, accordingly, when he was about to take his army across from Asia, it was very late at night, his tent was dimly lighted, and all the camp was wrapped in silence. Then, as he was meditating and reflecting, he thought he heard some one coming into the tent. He turned his eyes towards the entrance and beheld a strange and dreadful apparition, a monstrous and fearful shape standing silently by his side. Plucking up courage to question it, "Who art thou," said he, "of gods or men, and what is thine errand with me?" Then the phantom answered: "I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi." And Brutus, undisturbed, said: "I shall see thee."[1]

XXXVII. When the shape had disappeared, Brutus called his servants; but they declared that they had neither heard any words nor seen any apparition, and so he watched the night out. As soon as it was day, however, he sought out Cassius and told him of the apparition. Cassius, who belonged to the school of Epicurus, and was in the habit of taking issue on such topics with Brutus, said: "This is our doctrine, Brutus, that we do not really feel or see everything, but perception by the senses is a pliant and deceitful thing, and besides, the intelligence is very keen to change and transform the thing perceived into any and every shape from one which has no real existence. An impression on the senses is like wax, and the soul of man, in which the plastic material and the plastic power alike exist, can very easily shape

[1] Cf. *Caesar*, lxix. 5-7.

καὶ σχηματίζειν δι' ἑαυτῆς ὑπάρχει. δηλοῦσι δὲ αἱ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τροπαὶ τῶν ὀνείρων, ἃς τρέπεται τὸ φανταστικὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς βραχείας παντοδαπὰ καὶ πάθη καὶ εἴδωλα γινόμενον. κινεῖσθαι δ' ἀεὶ πέφυκε· κίνησις δ' αὐτῷ φαν-
3 τασία τις ἢ νόησις. σοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ταλαιπωρούμενον φύσει τὴν διάνοιαν αἰωρεῖ καὶ παρατρέπει. δαίμονας δ' οὔτ' εἶναι πιθανὸν οὔτ' ὄντας ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν εἶδος ἢ φωνὴν ἢ δύναμιν εἰς ἡμᾶς διήκουσαν· ὡς ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐβουλόμην, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ναυσὶ τοσαύταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἀρωγαῖς ἐπεθαρροῦμεν, ὁσιωτάτων ἔργων καὶ καλλίστων ἡγεμόνες ὄντες." τοιούτοις μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπράϋνε λόγοις τὸν Βροῦτον.

4 Ἐμβαινόντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας σημαίας ἀετοὶ δύο συγκατασκήψαντες ὁμοῦ συνδιεκομίζοντο, καὶ παρηκολούθουν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τρεφόμενοι μέχρι Φιλίππων. ἐκεῖ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ᾤχοντο ἀποπτάμενοι.

XXXVIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ἐθνῶν ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Βροῦτος ὑπήκοα πεποιημένος. εἰ δέ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ δυνάστης παρεῖτο, τότε πάντας προσαγόμενοι μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Θάσον θαλάσσης προῆλθον. ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν περὶ Νορβανὸν ἐν τοῖς Στενοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ περὶ τὸ Σύμβολον στρατοπεδευόντων, περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασαν ἀποστῆναι καὶ προέσθαι τὰ
2 χωρία. μικροῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν ἐδέησαν, ὑπολειπομένου διὰ νόσον Καίσαρος, εἰ μὴ προσεβοήθησεν Ἀντώνιος ὀξύτητι θαυμαστῇ

and embellish it at pleasure. This is clear from the transformations which occur in dreams, where slight initial material is transformed by the imagination into all sorts of emotions and shapes. The imagination is by nature in perpetual motion, and this motion which it has is fancy, or thought. In thy case, too, the body is worn with hardships and this condition naturally excites and perverts the intelligence. As for genii, it is incredible either that they exist, or, if they do exist, that they have the appearance or the speech of men, or a power that extends to us. For my part, I could wish it were so, in order that not only our men-at-arms, and horses, and ships, which are so numerous, but also the assistance of the gods might give us courage, conducting as we do the fairest and holiest enterprises." With such discourse did Cassius seek to calm Brutus.

Furthermore, as the soldiers were embarking, two eagles perched upon the foremost standards and were borne along with them, and they kept the army company, being fed by the soldiers, as far as Philippi. There, only one day before the battle, they flew away.

XXXVIII. Most of the peoples encountered on the march Brutus had already brought into subjection; and now, whatever city or potentate had been omitted, they won them all over, and advanced as far as the Thasian sea. There Norbanus and his army were encamped, at what were called The Narrows, and near Symbolum; but they surrounded him and compelled him to withdraw and abandon his positions. They almost captured his forces, too, since Octavius was delayed by sickness; and they would have done so had not Antony come to his aid with such

χρησάμενος, ὥστ' ἀπιστεῖν τοὺς περὶ Βροῦτον.
ἦλθε δὲ Καῖσαρ ὕστερον ἡμέραις δέκα, καὶ κατε-
στρατοπέδευσεν ἐναντίον Βρούτου, Κασσίου δὲ
Ἀντώνιος.

3 Τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων πεδία Ῥωμαῖοι
κάμπους Φιλίππους καλοῦσι· καὶ μέγισται τότε
Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις ἀλλήλαις συνεφέροντο. πλή-
θει μὲν οὖν οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλείποντο τῶν περὶ
Καίσαρα, κόσμῳ δ' ὅπλων καὶ λαμπρότητι θαυ-
μαστὸν ἐξεφάνη τὸ Βρούτου στράτευμα. χρυσὸς
γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἄργυρος
ἀφειδῶς καταχορηγηθείς, καίπερ εἰς τἆλλα τοῦ
Βρούτου σώφρονι διαίτῃ καὶ κεκολασμένῃ χρῆσθαι
4 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐθίζοντος. τὸν δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ
περὶ τὸ σῶμα πλοῦτον ᾤετό τι καὶ φρονήματος
παρέχειν τοῖς φιλοτιμοτέροις, τοὺς δὲ φιλοκερδεῖς
καὶ μαχιμωτέρους ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ κτημάτων τῶν
ὅπλων περιεχομένους.

XXXIX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Καίσαρα καθαρμὸν
ἐν τῷ χάρακι ποιησάμενοι, μικρόν τι σίτου καὶ
δραχμὰς κατ' ἄνδρα πέντε διένειμαν εἰς θυσίαν,
οἱ δὲ περὶ Βροῦτον καταγνόντες αὐτῶν τῆς ἀπορίας
ἢ μικρολογίας, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὸν στρα-
τόν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐκάθηραν, ἔπειθ' ἱερείων
πλήθη κατὰ λόχους καὶ δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ πεντή-
κοντα διαδόντες, εὐνοίᾳ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῆς δυνά-
2 μεως πλέον εἶχον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ σημεῖον ἐν τῷ
καθαρμῷ μοχθηρὸν ἔδοξε Κασσίῳ γενέσθαι. τὸν 1002
γὰρ στέφανον αὐτῷ κατεστραμμένον ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος
προσήνεγκε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἐν θέᾳ
τινὶ καὶ πομπῇ χρυσῆν Κασσίου Νίκην διαφερο-

astonishing swiftness that Brutus could not believe in it. Octavius came, however, ten days later, and encamped over against Brutus, while Antony faced Cassius.

The plains between the armies the Romans call Campi Philippi, and Roman forces of such size had never before encountered one another. In numbers the army of Brutus was much inferior to that of Octavius, but in the splendid decoration of its arms it presented a wonderful sight. For most of their armour was covered with gold and silver, with which Brutus had lavishly supplied them, although in other matters he accustomed his officers to adopt a temperate and restricted regimen. But he thought that the wealth which they held in their hands and wore upon their persons gave additional spirit to the more ambitious, and made the covetous even more warlike, since they clung to their armour as so much treasure.

XXXIX. Octavius and Antony now made a lustration[1] of their armies in their camps, and then distributed a little meal and five drachmas to every man for a sacrifice; but Brutus and Cassius, despising their enemies' poverty or parsimony, first made lustration of their armies in the open field, as the custom is, and then distributed great numbers of cattle for sacrifice among their cohorts, and fifty drachmas to every soldier, and thus, in the goodwill and zeal of their forces, they were at an advantage. However, it was thought that Cassius had a baleful sign during the lustration; for the lictor brought him his wreath turned upside down. And it is said that before this, also, in a procession at some festival, a golden Victory belonging to Cassius, which was being borne along,

[1] A solemn review, with ceremonies of purification.

3 μένην πεσεῖν, ὀλισθόντος τοῦ φέροντος. ἔτι δ' ὄρνεά τε σαρκοφάγα πολλὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπεφαίνετο τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μελισσῶν ὤφθησαν ἑσμοὶ συνιστάμενοι περὶ τόπον τινὰ τοῦ χάρακος ἐντός, ὃν ἐξέκλεισαν οἱ μάντεις ἀφοσιούμενοι τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀτρέμα καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον αὐτὸν ὑποφέρουσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας παντάπασι δεδουλωμένην.

4 Ὅθεν οὐδ' ἦν πρόθυμος διὰ μάχης ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενέσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ τρίβειν ἠξίου χρόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐρρωμένους χρήμασιν, ὅπλων δὲ καὶ σωμάτων πλήθει λειπομένους. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἔσπευδε τῷ ταχίστῳ τῶν κινδύνων διακριθεὶς ἢ τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀναλαβεῖν ἢ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐνοχλουμένους δαπάναις καὶ στρατείαις καὶ προστάγμασιν
5 ἀπαλλάξαι κακῶν, καὶ τότε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς ὁρῶν ἐν τοῖς προάγωσι καὶ ταῖς ἀψιμαχίαις εὐημεροῦντας καὶ κρατοῦντας ἐξῆρτο τὸ φρόνημα· καί τινες αὐτομολίαι γενόμεναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαβολαὶ καθ' ἑτέρων καὶ ὑπόνοιαι πολλοὺς τῶν Κασσίου φίλων μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ
6 συνεδρίῳ πρὸς Βροῦτον. εἷς δὲ τῶν Βρούτου φίλων Ἀτίλλιος ἠναντιοῦτο, τόν γε χειμῶνα περιμεῖναι κελεύων. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου τίνι βελτίων ἔσεσθαι νομίζει μετ' ἐνιαυτόν, "Εἰ μηδέν," εἶπεν, "ἄλλο, πλείω βιώσομαι χρόνον." πρὸς τοῦτο Κάσσιος ἐδυσχέρανε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προσέκρουσεν οὐ μετρίως ὁ Ἀτίλλιος. ἐδέδοκτο δὴ μάχεσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ.

XL. Καὶ Βροῦτος μὲν ἐν ἐλπίσι καλαῖς καὶ

fell to the ground, its bearer having slipped. And besides, many carrion birds hovered over the camp daily, and swarms of bees were seen clustering at a certain place inside the camp; this place the soothsayers shut off from the rest of the camp, in order to avert by their rites the superstitious fears which were gradually carrying even Cassius himself away from his Epicurean doctrines, and which had altogether subjugated his soldiers.

For these reasons Cassius was not eager to have the issue decided by battle at present, but thought it best to protract the war, since they were strong financially, although inferior in the number of their arms and men. Brutus, however, even before this had been anxious to have the issue decided by the speediest of hazards, that he might either restore freedom to his country, or relieve mankind of calamitous expenditures and requisitions for military service. At this time, too, he saw that his horsemen were successful and victorious in the preliminary skirmishes, and was therefore lifted up in spirit. Besides, sundry desertions to the enemy, and suspicions and assertions that others would follow, brought many of the friends of Cassius in the council over to the side of Brutus. But one of the friends of Brutus, Atillius, opposed his wishes, and urged delay till winter at least was past. And when Brutus asked him how he thought he would be better off another year, "If in no other way," said Atillius, "I shall have lived longer." At this answer Cassius was vexed, and the rest also were not a little annoyed by Atillius. So it was presently decided to give battle on the next day.

XL. Brutus was full of hopefulness at supper, and

λογισμοῖς φιλοσόφοις γενόμενος παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀνεπαύετο· Κάσσιον δὲ Μεσσάλας φησὶ δειπνεῖν τε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὀλίγους τῶν συνήθων παραλαβόντα, καὶ σύννουν ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ σιωπηλόν, οὐ φύσει τοιοῦτον ὄντα· παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ δείπνου λαβόμενον τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ σφόδρα τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει φιλοφρονούμενος, Ἑλληνικῇ
2 φωνῇ· "Μαρτύρομαί σε, Μεσσάλα, ταὐτὰ Πομπηΐῳ Μάγνῳ πάσχειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος διὰ μιᾶς μάχης ἀναρρῖψαι τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος κύβον. ἀγαθὴν μέντοι ψυχὴν ἔχωμεν εἰς τὴν τύχην ἀφορῶντες, ᾗ, κἂν βουλευσώμεθα κακῶς, ἀπιστεῖν οὐ δίκαιον." ταῦτα εἰπόντα φησὶν ὁ Μεσσάλας τελευταῖα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Κάσσιον· εἶναι δὲ κεκλημένος εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον οὖσαν.

3 Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ προὔκειτο μὲν τῷ Βρούτου χάρακι καὶ τῷ Κασσίου σύμβολον ἀγῶνος φοινικοῦς χιτών, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνῆλθον εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ λέγει Κάσσιος· "Εἴη μέν, ὦ Βροῦτε, νικᾶν καὶ συνεῖναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀλλήλοις εὖ πράξαντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀδηλότατα, καὶ τῆς μάχης παρὰ γνώμην κριθείσης οὐ ῥᾴδιον αὖθις ἀλλήλους ἰδεῖν,
4 τί γινώσκεις περὶ φυγῆς καὶ τελευτῆς;" καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἀπεκρίνατο· "Νέος ὢν ἐγώ, Κάσσιε, καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λόγον ἀφῆκα μέγαν. ᾐτιασάμην Κάτωνα διαχρησάμενον ἑαυτόν, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ὑποχωρεῖν τῷ δαίμονι καὶ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ
5 συμπῖπτον ἀδεῶς, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδράσκειν. νυνὶ δ'

after engaging in philosophical discussion, went to rest; but Cassius, as Messala tells us, supped in private with a few of his intimates, and was seen to be silent and pensive, contrary to his usual nature. When supper was over, he grasped Messala's hand warmly, and, speaking in Greek, as was his custom when he would show affection, said: "I call thee to witness, Messala, that I am in the same plight as Pompey the Great, in that I am forced to hazard the fate of my country on the issue of a single battle. With good courage, however, let us fix our waiting eyes on Fortune, of whom, even though our counsels be infirm, it is not right that we should be distrustful." With these last words to him, Messala says, Cassius embraced him; and he had already invited him to supper on the following day, which was his birthday.

As soon as it was day, a scarlet tunic, the signal for battle, was displayed before the camps of Brutus and Cassius, and they themselves came together into the space between their armies. Here Cassius said: "May we be victorious, Brutus, and ever afterwards share a mutual prosperity; but since the most important of human affairs are most uncertain, and since, if the battle goes contrary to our wishes, we shall not easily see one another again, what is thy feeling about flight and death?" And Brutus made answer: "When I was a young man, Cassius, and without experience of the world, I was led, I know not how, to speak too rashly for a philosopher. I blamed Cato for making away with himself, on the ground that it was impious and unmanly to yield to one's evil genius, not accepting fearlessly whatever befalls, but running away. In my present fortunes,

*ἀλλοῖος ἐν ταῖς τύχαις γίνομαι· καὶ θεοῦ καλῶς
τὰ παρόντα μὴ βραβεύσαντος οὐ δέομαι πάλιν
ἄλλας ἐλπίδας ἐξελέγχειν καὶ παρασκευάς, ἀλλ'
ἀπαλλάξομαι τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν· Μαρτίαις*[1]
*εἰδοῖς δοὺς τῇ πατρίδι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ βίον ἄλλον
ἔζησα δι' ἐκείνην ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἔνδοξον." ἐπὶ
τούτοις Κάσσιος ἐμειδίασε καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀσπα-* 1003
*σάμενος, "Ταῦτα," ἔφη, "φρονοῦντες ἴωμεν ἐπὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους. ἢ γὰρ νικήσομεν ἢ νικῶντας οὐ
φοβηθησόμεθα."*

6 *Μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τάξεως αὐτοῖς λόγος ἐγένετο
τῶν φίλων παρόντων. καὶ Βροῦτος ᾐτεῖτο Κάσ-
σιον αὐτὸς ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος, ὃ δι'
ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἡλικίαν μᾶλλον ᾤοντο Κασσίῳ
προσήκειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Κάσσιος
ἔδωκε, καὶ τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ μαχιμώτατον ἔχοντα
Μεσσάλαν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ καταστῆναι.
καὶ Βροῦτος εὐθὺς ἐξῆγε τοὺς ἱππεῖς κεκοσμη-
μένους διαπρεπῶς, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν οὐ σχολαίτερον
παρενέβαλλεν.*

XLI. *Ἔτυχον δ' οἱ περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἀπὸ τῶν
ἑλῶν, οἷς περιεστρατοπέδευον, ἐμβάλλοντες τά-
φρους εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁδοὺς
τοῦ Κασσίου περικόπτοντες. ἐφήδρευε δὲ Καῖ-
σαρ, οὐ παρὼν αὐτὸς δι' ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλ' ἡ δύνα-
μις, οὐ πάνυ μαχεῖσθαι προσδοκῶσα τοὺς πολε-
μίους, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκδρομαῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ
ἔργα καὶ βέλεσιν ἐλαφροῖς καὶ θορύβοις τοὺς*
2 *ὀρύσσοντας ἐπιταράσσειν· καὶ τοῖς ἀντιτετα-
γμένοις οὐ προσέχοντες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν περὶ τὰς*

[1] ἐπαινῶν· Μαρτίαις Coraës and Bekker have ἐπαινῶν ὅτι (*because*) Μαρτίαις κτλ., after Reiske.

however, I am become of a different mind; and if God does not decide the present issue in our favour, I do not ask once more to put fresh hopes and preparations to the test, but I will go hence with words of praise for Fortune; on the Ides of March I gave my own life to my country, and since then, for her sake, I have lived another life of liberty and glory." At these words Cassius smiled, and after embracing Brutus, said: "Thus minded, let us go against the enemy; for either we shall be victorious, or we shall not fear the victors.".

After this, they conferred together about the order of battle in the presence of their friends. And Brutus asked Cassius that he might have command of the right wing himself, although his years and experience made this post seem more appropriate for Cassius. However, Cassius not only granted him this favour, but also ordered Messala with the most warlike of the legions to take position on the right. Brutus at once led out his horsemen magnificently equipped, and with no less promptness put his infantry also in array.

XLI. The soldiers of Antony were engaged in running trenches from the marshes, at which they were encamped, into the plain, thus cutting off Cassius from access to the sea. Octavius was quietly watching the course of events,—not being present in person, owing to sickness, but his forces for him; they had no expectation at all that their enemies would give battle, but thought they would merely sally out against the works and with light missiles and clamorous cries try to disturb the workers in the trenches. So paying no attention to their opponents, they were amazed at the loud and confused

τάφρους κραυγὴν ἄσημον οὖσαν καὶ πολλὴν προσφερομένην. ἐν τούτῳ γραμματείων τε παρὰ Βρούτου τοῖς ἡγεμόσι φοιτώντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ σύνθημα γεγραμμένον, αὐτοῦ τε παρεξιόντος ἵππῳ τὰ τάγματα καὶ παραθαρρύνοντος, ὀλίγοι μὲν ἔφθασαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ σύνθημα παρεγγυώμενον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι μὴ προσμείναντες ὁρμῇ μιᾷ καὶ ἀλα-
3 λαγμῷ προσεφέροντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. γενομένης δὲ δι' ἀταξίαν ταύτην ἀνωμαλίας καὶ διασπασμοῦ τῶν ταγμάτων τὸ Μεσσάλα πρῶτον, εἶτα τὰ συνεζευγμένα παρήλλαττε τὸ Καίσαρος ἀριστερόν· καὶ βραχέα τῶν ἐσχάτων θιγόντες καὶ καταβαλόντες οὐ πολλούς, ἀλλ' ὑπερκεράσαντες,
4 ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ Καῖσαρ μέν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἱστορεῖ, τῶν φίλων τινὸς Ἀρτωρίου Μάρκου καθ' ὕπνον ἰδόντος ὄψιν κελεύουσαν ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρα καὶ μετελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἔφθασε μικρὸν ὑπεκκομισθεὶς ἔδοξέ τε τεθνάναι. τὸ γὰρ φορεῖον κενὸν ἀκοντίοις καὶ ὑσσοῖς βάλλοντες διήλασαν. ἦν δὲ φόνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν ἁλισκομένων, καὶ δισχίλιοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἥκοντες ἐπίκουροι νεωστὶ συγκατεκόπησαν.

XLII. Οἱ δὲ μὴ κυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ συμπεσόντες, ῥᾳδίως μὲν ἀπετρέψαντο τεταραγμένους, καὶ διέφθειραν ἐν χερσὶν[1] τρία τάγματα, καὶ συνεισέπεσον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὑπὸ ῥύμης τοῦ κρατεῖν συνενεχθέντες, μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες τὸν Βροῦτον· ὃ δ' οὐ συνεῖδον
2 οἱ νικῶντες ἐδείκνυε τοῖς ἡττημένοις ὁ καιρός. εἰς

[1] χερσὶν conjectured by Sintenis and Bekker: χεροῖν.

outcries which came to them from the trenches. At this point, while tickets with the watchword written upon them were being carried to his officers from Brutus, and while Brutus himself was riding along past the legions and encouraging them, few of his men succeeded in hearing the watchword as it was passed along, but most of them, without waiting for it, with one impulse and with one war-cry, rushed upon the enemy. This disorder threw the legions out of line and touch with one another, and first that of Messala, then those that had been drawn up with it, went beyond the left wing of Octavius; they had only a brief contact with its outermost lines, and slew only a few men, but outflanked it and burst into their camp. And Octavius, as he himself tells us in his Commentaries, in consequence of a vision which visited one of his friends, Marcus Artorius, and ordered that Octavius should rise up from his bed and depart from the camp, barely succeeded in having himself carried forth, and was thought to have been slain. For his litter, when empty, was pierced by the javelins and spears of his enemies. Those who were taken prisoners in the camp were slaughtered, and two thousand Lacedaemonians who had recently come as auxiliaries were cut to pieces along with them.

XLII. The legions of Brutus which had not outflanked the forces of Octavius, but engaged them in battle, easily routed them in their confusion and cut to pieces three legions at close quarters; then they dashed into their camp with the fugitives, borne on by the impetus of their victory and carrying Brutus with them. But here the vanquished saw an opportunity of which the victors were not aware; for they

γὰρ τὰ γυμνὰ καὶ παραρρηγνύμενα τῆς ἐναντίας
φάλαγγος, ᾗ τὸ δεξιὸν ἀπεσπάσθη πρὸς τὴν δίω-
ξιν, ὠσάμενοι τὸ μὲν μέσον οὐκ ἐξέωσαν, ἀλλ'
ἀγῶνι μεγάλῳ συνείχοντο, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον ἀταξίᾳ
καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν γενομένων ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατα-
διώξαντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα διεπόρθουν οὐδετέρου
3 τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων παρόντος. Ἀντώνιός τε γάρ,
ὥς φασιν, ἐκκλίνας ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν ἔφοδον εἰς τὸ
ἕλος ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ Καῖσαρ οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ἦν
ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλὰ Βρούτῳ τινὲς ὡς
ἀνῃρηκότες αὐτὸν ἐπεδείκνυον ᾑμαγμένα τὰ ξίφη,
φράζοντες ἰδέαν ἣν εἶχε καὶ ἡλικίαν. ἤδη δὲ τὸ
μέσον ἐξεώκει φόνῳ πολλῷ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους,
καὶ παντελῶς ἐδόκει κρατεῖν ὁ Βροῦτος, ὥσπερ ὁ
4 Κάσσιος κρατεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτῶν
διέφθειρε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν ὡς νικῶντι Κασ-
σίῳ μὴ βοηθήσαντος, τοῦ δὲ Βροῦτον ὡς ἀπολω-
λότα μὴ περιμείναντος· ἐπεὶ τῆς γε νίκης ὅρον ὁ
Μεσσάλας τίθεται τὸ τρεῖς ἀετοὺς καὶ πολλὰ
σημεῖα λαβεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐκείνους δὲ μηδέν. 1004
Ἀναχωρῶν δ' ὁ Βροῦτος ἤδη διαπεπορθημένων
τῶν Καίσαρος ἐθαύμασε τὸ Κασσίου στρατήγιον
οὐχ ὁρῶν ὑψηλόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, περιφαινόμενον,
οὐδὲ τἆλλα κατὰ χώραν· ἐρήριπτο γὰρ εὐθὺς τὰ
πλεῖστα καὶ κατέσπαστο τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπεσόν-
5 των. ἀλλ' οἱ δοκοῦντες ὀξύτερον βλέπειν τῶν
ἑταίρων ἔφραζον αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁρᾶν κράνη
λάμποντα, πολλοὺς δ' ἀργυροῦς θυρεοὺς ἐν τῷ
χάρακι τοῦ Κασσίου διαφερομένους· οὔκουν δο-
κεῖν αὐτοῖς οὔτ' ἀριθμὸν οὔθ' ὁπλισμὸν εἶναι τῶν
ἀπολελειμμένων φυλάκων· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πλῆθος

charged upon the broken and exposed parts of their opponents' line, from which the right wing had been drawn away in pursuit. The centre did not yield to them, but fought them vigorously; the left wing, however, owing to their disorder and ignorance of what had happened, they routed and pursued into their camp, which they sacked. Neither of the generals was with his men; for Antony, we are told, turned aside from the attack at the outset and withdrew into the marsh, and Octavius was nowhere to be seen after he had forsaken his camp; indeed, sundry soldiers declared that they had slain him, showing Brutus their bloody swords and describing his youthful appearance. But presently the centre drove back their opponents with great slaughter, and it appeared that Brutus was completely victorious, as Cassius was completely defeated. And one thing alone brought ruin to their cause, namely, that Brutus thought Cassius victorious and did not go to his aid, while Cassius thought Brutus dead and did not wait for his aid; since Messala considers it a certain proof of the victory that he captured three eagles and many standards from the enemy, while they took nothing.

As Brutus was returning from his victory, the camp of Caesar having been already destroyed, he was amazed not to see the tent of Cassius towering above the others, as usual, nor the other tents in their wonted place; for most of them had been demolished at once when the enemy burst in. But the sharper sighted among his companions told him they could see many helmets gleaming, and many silver breastplates moving about in the camp of Cassius; they did not think that either the number or the armour was that of the garrison left behind; however, they

ἐπέκεινα φαίνεσθαι νεκρῶν ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν νενικη-
6 μένων κατὰ κράτος ταγμάτων τοσούτων. ταῦτα πρῶτον ἔννοιαν κατέστησε τῷ Βρούτῳ τοῦ συμπτώματος· καὶ καταλιπὼν φρουρὰν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεκαλεῖτο τοὺς διώκοντας καὶ συνῆγεν ὡς Κασσίῳ βοηθήσων.

XLIII. Ἐπέπρακτο δ' οὕτω τὰ κατ' αὐτόν. οὔτε τὴν πρώτην ἐκδρομὴν τῶν περὶ Βροῦτον ἡδέως εἶδεν ἄνευ συνθήματος καὶ προστάγματος γενομένην, οὔθ' ὅτε κρατοῦντες εὐθὺς ὥρμησαν ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν, τοῦ περιϊέναι καὶ κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμελήσαντες, ἤρεσκεν αὐτῷ
2 τὰ πραττόμενα. μελλήσει δέ τινι καὶ διατριβῇ μᾶλλον ἢ προθυμίᾳ καὶ λογισμῷ στρατηγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τῶν πολεμίων περιελαμβάνετο· καὶ τῶν ἱππέων εὐθὺς ἀπορραγέντων φυγῇ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνδιδόντας ἐπειρᾶτο κατέχειν καὶ παρακαλεῖν. ἑνὸς δὲ σημειοφόρου φεύγοντος ἀφαρπάσας τὸ σημεῖον ἔπηξε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν, μηδὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τετα-
3 γμένων αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἔτι συμμενόντων. οὕτω δὴ βιασθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε μετ' ὀλίγων ἐπὶ λόφον ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ πεδίον σκοπάς. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κατεῖδεν ἢ μόλις τὸν χάρακα πορθούμενον, ἦν γὰρ ἀσθενὴς τὴν ὄψιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς ἑώρων πολλοὺς προσελαύνοντας, οὓς ὁ Βροῦτος ἔπεμψεν. εἴκασε δ' ὁ Κάσσιος πολεμίους εἶναι καὶ διώκειν ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὅμως δὲ τῶν παρόντων
4 ἕνα Τιτίνιον ἀπέστειλε κατοψόμενον. οὗτος οὐκ ἔλαθε τοὺς ἱππέας προσιών, ἀλλ', ὡς εἶδον ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ Κασσίῳ πιστόν, ἀλαλάξαντες ὑφ' ἡδο-

said, there were not so many dead bodies visible there as might have been expected if so many legions had been overwhelmed. This was what first made Brutus aware of the calamity; and leaving a guard in the captured camp of the enemy, he called his men back from the pursuit and united his forces with the purpose of assisting Cassius.

XLIII. With Cassius matters had gone as follows. He had been disturbed to see the first sally of the troops of Brutus, which was made without watch-word or command, and when, being victorious, they rushed at once after booty and spoil, with no thought for the envelopment of the enemy, he was vexed at the way things were going. Besides, exercising his command with hesitation and delay rather than with readiness and decision, he was enveloped by the enemy's right wing. His horsemen at once broke away in flight towards the sea, and seeing his infantry also giving ground, he tried to rally them. He snatched the standard from a standard-bearer who was in flight, and planted it in the ground before him, although not even his body-guard were inclined to hold together any more. Thus, then, under compulsion, he withdrew with a few followers to a hill overlooking the plain. But he himself could see nothing, or next to nothing, of the sacking of his camp, for his vision was weak; the horsemen about him, however, saw a great troop riding up which Brutus had sent. But Cassius conjectured that they were enemies, and in pursuit of him. Nevertheless, he sent out one of those who were with him, Titinius, to reconnoitre. The horsemen spied this man as he came towards them, and when they saw that he was a trusted friend of Cassius, his in-

νῆς οἱ μὲν συνήθεις ἠσπάζοντό τε καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο καταπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ περιελαύνοντες ἅμα παιᾶνι καὶ πατάγῳ διὰ χαρᾶς ἀμετρίαν τὸ μέγιστον ἀπειργάσαντο κακόν.

5 Ἔδοξε γὰρ ὁ Κάσσιος ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχεσθαι τὸν Τιτίνιον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ φήσας, "Φιλοψυχοῦντες ἀνεμείναμεν ἄνδρα φίλον ἁρπαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδεῖν," ἀπεχώρησεν εἴς τινα σκηνὴν ἔρημον, ἕνα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐφελκυσάμενος, Πίνδαρον, ὃν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Κράσσον ἀτυχημάτων ἐπὶ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ἀνάγκην
6 ὑφ' αὑτοῦ παρεσκευασμένον. ἀλλὰ Πάρθους μὲν διέφυγε, τότε δὲ τὰς χλαμύδας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναγαγὼν καὶ γυμνώσας τὸν τράχηλον ἀποκόψαι παρέσχεν. εὑρέθη γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ δίχα τοῦ σώματος. τὸν δὲ Πίνδαρον οὐδεὶς εἶδεν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τὸν φόνον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ παρέσχεν ἐνίοις δόξαν
7 ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα μὴ κελευσθείς. ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον οἵ θ' ἱππεῖς ἐγένοντο φανεροί, καὶ Τιτίνιος ἐστεφανωμένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνῄει πρὸς Κάσσιον. ὡς δὲ κλαυθμῷ καὶ βοῇ τῶν φίλων ὀδυρομένων καὶ δυσφορούντων ἔγνω τὸ πάθος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, ἐσπάσατο τὸ ξίφος καὶ πολλὰ κακίσας τῆς βραδυτῆτος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε.

XLIV. Βροῦτος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἧτταν ἐγνωκὼς τοῦ Κασσίου προσήλαυνε, τὸν δὲ θάνατον ἐγγὺς ἤδη τοῦ χάρακος ἤκουσε. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα περι- 1005
κλαύσας, καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἔσχατον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων τὸν Κάσσιον, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι τῇ πόλει τηλικούτου φρονήματος ἐγγενέσθαι δυναμένου,

timates, shouting for joy, leaped from their horses and embraced him warmly, while the rest rode round him with shouts and clashing of arms, thus, in their boundless joy, working the greatest mischief.

For Cassius thought that Titinius was actually taken by the enemy, and with the words "My love of life has brought me to the pass of seeing a friend seized by the enemy," he withdrew into an empty tent, forcing along with him one of his freedmen, Pindarus, whom, after the disaster which befell Crassus,[1] he used to keep in readiness for this emergency. From the Parthians, indeed, he had made his escape; but now, drawing his robes up over his face and laying bare his neck, he offered it to the sword. For his head was found severed from his body. Pindarus, however, no man saw after the bloody deed, and therefore some have thought that he slew his master unbidden. A little later it became evident who the horsemen were, and Titinius, whom they had crowned with garlands, came up to report to Cassius. But when the lamentable cries of his distressed and weeping friends made known to him the grievous fate of his general and his error, he drew his sword, reproached himself bitterly for his slowness, and slew himself.

XLIV. When Brutus learned of the defeat of Cassius, he rode towards him, but heard of his death when he was already near his camp. He mourned over the body, and called Cassius "the last of the Romans," implying that such an exalted spirit could no longer arise in the city. Then he decked the

[1] Cassius had been quaestor for Crassus on the disastrous Parthian expedition in 53 B.C. (*Crassus*, xviii. 5).

περιέστειλε καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Θάσον, ὡς μὴ
2 σύγχυσιν αὐτόθι παράσχοι κηδευόμενον. αὐτὸς
δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν παρεμυθήσατο·
καὶ πάντων ὁρῶν ἀπεστερημένους τῶν ἀναγκαίων
ὑπέσχετο κατ' ἄνδρα δισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἀντὶ
τῶν ἀπολωλότων. οἱ δὲ πρός τε τοὺς λόγους
ἀνεθάρρησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐθαύμασαν
τὸ μέγεθος· καὶ μετὰ βοῆς προὔπεμψαν ἀπιόντα,
μεγαλύνοντες ὡς μόνον ἀήττητον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν
3 τεσσάρων αὐτοκρατόρων γεγενημένον. ἐμαρτύρει
δὲ τὸ ἔργον ὅτι τῇ μάχῃ περιέσεσθαι καλῶς
ἐπίστευεν· ὀλίγοις γὰρ τάγμασιν ἅπαντας ἐτρέψατο τοὺς ἀντιστάντας. εἰ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐχρήσατο
πρὸς τὴν μάχην καὶ μὴ παρελθόντες οἱ πλεῖστοι
τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμησαν,
οὐδὲν ἂν ἐδόκει μέρος αὐτῶν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀήττητον.

XLV. Ἔπεσον δὲ τούτων μὲν ὀκτακισχίλιοι
σὺν τοῖς στρατευομένοις οἰκέταις, οὓς Βρίγας ὁ
Βροῦτος ὠνόμαζε· τῶν δ' ἐναντίων Μεσσάλας
φησὶν οἴεσθαι πλείους ἢ διπλασίους. διὸ καὶ
μᾶλλον ἠθύμουν ἐκεῖνοι πρὶν ἢ Κασσίου θεράπων
ὄνομα Δημήτριος ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἑσπέρας, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰς χλαμύδας λαβὼν
2 καὶ τὸ ξίφος. ὧν κομισθέντων οὕτως ἐθάρρησαν
ὥστε ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προάγειν ὡπλισμένην ἐπὶ μάχῃ
τὴν δύναμιν. Βρούτῳ δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἑκατέρου σαλεύοντος ἐπισφαλῶς (τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ
καταπεπλησμένον αἰχμαλώτων ἐδεῖτο φυλακῆς
ἀκριβοῦς, τὸ δὲ Κασσίου τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ
ἄρχοντος οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φθόνου

body for burial and sent it to Thasos, in order that the funeral rites might not disturb the camp. He himself, however, assembled the soldiers of Cassius and comforted them; and seeing that they were deprived of all the necessaries of life, he promised them two thousand drachmas the man, to make good what they had lost. They were encouraged by his words and amazed at the largeness of his gift; and they sent him on his way with shouts, exalting him as the only one of the four commanders who had not been defeated in the battle. And the results bore witness that his confidence in a victory in the battle was well grounded; for with a few legions he routed all those opposed to him. And if he had employed them all in fighting, and if the most of them had not passed by the enemy and set upon the enemy's possessions, it would seem that his victory must have been complete.

XLV. There fell on his side eight thousand men, including the camp servants whom Brutus called Briges;[1] but the enemy, in the opinion of Messala, lost more than twice as many. They were therefore the more dejected of the two, until an attendant of Cassius, named Demetrius, came to Antony in the evening, bringing the robes and the sword which he had taken at once from the dead body. This encouraged them so much that at break of day they led their forces out arrayed for battle. But both the camps over which Brutus had command were in dangerous straits. His own was filled with prisoners of war and required a heavy guard; while that of Cassius was dissatisfied with the change of commanders, and besides, as vanquished men, they were full of hatred

[1] The name of a Thracian tribe (Herodotus, vii. 73).

τι καὶ μίσους ἡττημένοις ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ
νενικηκός), ὁπλίσαι μὲν ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα,
3 μάχης δ' ἀπέσχετο. τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων τὸ μὲν
δουλικὸν πλῆθος ἐνειλούμενον ὑπόπτως τοῖς ὅπ-
λοις ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, τῶν δ' ἐλευθέρων
τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυε φάσκων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
μᾶλλον ἡλωκέναι αὐτοὺς[1] καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις
αἰχμαλώτους εἶναι καὶ δούλους, παρ' αὐτῷ δ'
ἐλευθέρους καὶ πολίτας· ὡς δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἑώρα
καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχοντας, ἀπο-
κρύπτων καὶ συνεκπέμπων ἔσωζεν.

4 Ἦν δέ τις Βολούμνιος μῖμος καὶ Σακουλίων γε-
λωτοποιὸς ἡλωκότες, οὓς ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθεμένου
τοῦ Βρούτου προσάγοντες οἱ φίλοι κατηγόρουν
ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ σκώπτειν πρὸς ὕβριν
αὐτῶν ἀπεχομένους. ἐπεὶ δὲ Βροῦτος μὲν ἐσίγα
πρὸς ἑτέραις ὢν φροντίσι, Μεσσάλας δὲ Κορβῖνος
ἐδικαίου πληγαῖς κολασθέντας ἐπὶ σκηνῆς γυ-
μνοὺς ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν πολεμίων,
ὅπως εἰδῶσιν οἵων δέονται στρατευόμενοι συμ-
5 ποτῶν καὶ συνήθων, ἔνιοι μὲν τῶν παρόντων
ἐγέλασαν, Πόπλιος δὲ Κάσκας, ὁ πρῶτος Καί-
σαρα πατάξας, "Οὐ καλῶς," ἔφη, "τεθνηκότι
Κασσίῳ παίζοντες καὶ γελωτοποιοῦντες ἐναγίζο-
μεν· σὺ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Βροῦτε, δείξεις ὅπως ἔχεις
μνήμης πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ κολάσας ἢ φυ-
λάξας τοὺς χλευασομένους καὶ κακῶς ἐροῦντας
6 αὐτόν." πρὸς τοῦτο Βροῦτος εὖ μάλα δυσχε-
ράνας, "Τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐμοῦ πυνθάνεσθε, Κάσκα,
καὶ οὐ πράττετε τὸ δόξαν ὑμῖν;" ταύτην ἐκεῖνοι
τὴν ἀπόκρισιν συγκατάθεσιν ποιησάμενοι κατὰ

[1] *αὐτοὺς* bracketed by Sintenis[2].

and jealousy towards those who had been victorious Brutus therefore decided to put his army in array, but to refrain from battle. Moreover, the multitude of slaves among his captives were found suspiciously moving about among the men-at-arms, and he ordered them to be put to death; of the freemen, however, he released some, declaring that they had more truly been captured by his enemies, in whose hands they were prisoners and slaves, while with him they were freemen and citizens; and when he saw that his friends and officers were implacably hostile to them, he saved their lives by hiding them and helping them to escape.

Among the prisoners there was a certain Volumnius, an actor, and Saculio, a buffoon, to whom Brutus paid no attention; but the friends of Brutus brought them forward and denounced them for not refraining even now from insolent and mocking speeches to them. Brutus had nothing to say, being concerned about other matters, but Messala Corvinus gave his opinion that they should be publicly flogged and then sent back naked to the enemy's generals, in order to let these know what sort of boon companions they required on their campaigns. At this some of the bystanders burst out laughing, but Publius Casca, the one who first smote Caesar, said: "It is not meet for us to celebrate the funeral rites of Cassius with jests and mirth; and thou, Brutus, wilt show what esteem thou hast for the memory of that general according as thou punishest or shieldest those who will abuse and revile him." To this Brutus, in high dudgeon, said: "Why, then, do ye enquire of me, Casca, instead of doing what seems best to you?" This answer was taken to be a condemnation of the

τῶν ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων, διέφθειραν αὐτοὺς ἀπαγαγόντες.

XLVI. Ἐκ τούτου τὴν δωρεὰν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ μικρὰ μεμψάμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ σύνθημα μὴ λαβόντας ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἀτακτότερον ἐναλέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὑπέσχετο καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένοις δύο πόλεις εἰς ἁρπαγὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἀνήσειν, Θεσσαλονίκην καὶ Λακε- 1006
2 δαίμονα. τοῦτο τῷ Βρούτου βίῳ μόνον ἔνεστι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀναπολόγητον, εἰ καὶ πολὺ τούτων δεινότερα νικητήρια τοῖς στρατευομένοις Ἀντώνιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτισαν, ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης Ἰταλίας τοὺς παλαιοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐξελάσαντες, ἵνα χώραν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὴ
3 προσηκούσας λάβωσιν. ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν ὑπέκειτο τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, Βρούτῳ δὲ διὰ δόξαν ἀρετῆς οὔτε νικᾶν οὔτε σώζεσθαι συνεχωρεῖτο παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἢ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου, καὶ ταῦτα Κασσίου τεθνηκότος, ὃς αἰτίαν εἶχε καὶ Βροῦτον ἐνάγειν εἰς ἔνια τῶν
4 βιαιοτέρων. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν πλῷ πηδαλίου συντριβέντος ἕτερα ξύλα προσηλοῦν καὶ προσαρμόττειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, οὐκ εὖ μέν, ἀναγκαῖα δέ, μαχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, οὕτω Βροῦτος ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτῃ καὶ μετεώροις πράγμασιν οὐκ ἔχων ἰσορροποῦντα στρατηγὸν ἠναγκάζετο χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ πολλὰ πράσσειν καὶ
5 λέγειν τῶν ἐκείνοις δοκούντων. ἐδόκει δ' ὅσα τοὺς Κασσίου στρατιώτας ᾤοντο βελτίους παρέξειν· δυσμεταχείριστοι γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δι' ἀναρχίαν θρασυνόμενοι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἀποδειλιῶντες.

poor wretches, and they were led off and put to death.

XLVI. After this, he gave the soldiers their promised rewards, and after gently chiding them for not getting the watchword and for rushing upon the enemy without command and in great disorder, he promised that if they now fought well, he would turn over to them two cities for plunder and booty, Thessalonica and Lacedaemon. This is the only accusation in the life of Brutus against which no defence can be made, even though Antony and Octavius practised far greater cruelty than this in rewarding their soldiers, and drove her ancient inhabitants out of almost the whole of Italy, in order that their followers might get land and cities to which they had no right. But in their minds conquest and dominion were the end and object of the war; whereas Brutus had such a reputation for virtue with the multitude that he was not permitted either to conquer or to gain safety except with honour and justice, especially now that Cassius was dead, who was accused of leading Brutus with him into some acts of violence. But just as sailors, when their rudder has been shattered, try to fit and fasten other timbers in its place, striving to meet their needs, not well, indeed, but as best they can, so Brutus, not having in his great army and dangerous plight a general who was equal to the emergency, was forced to employ such as he had, and to do and say many things which they approved. And so he decided to do whatever they thought would make the soldiers of Cassius better men. For these were very intractable; their lack of a leader made them bold in camp, while their defeat made them afraid to face the enemy.

XLVII. Οὐδὲν δὲ βέλτιον εἶχε τὰ πράγματα τοῖς περὶ Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, ἀγορᾷ τε χρωμένοις ἀναγκαίᾳ καὶ διὰ κοιλότητα τοῦ στρατοπέδου χειμῶνα μοχθηρὸν προσδοκῶσιν. εἱλούμενοι γὰρ πρὸς ἕλεσι καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὄμβρων φθινοπωρινῶν ἐπιγενομένων πηλοῦ κατεπίμπλαντο τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ ὕδατος παραχρῆμα
2 πηγνυμένου διὰ ψῦχος. ἐν τούτῳ δ' οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἧκεν ἀγγελία περὶ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν γενομένης ἀτυχίας περὶ τὴν στρατιάν. ἐξ Ἰταλίας γὰρ πολλὴν κομιζομένην παρὰ Καίσαρος αἱ Βρούτου νῆες ἐπιπεσοῦσαι διέφθειραν, ὧν ὀλίγοι παντάπασι τοὺς πολεμίους διαφυγόντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῶν ἱστίων καὶ τῶν σχοινίων ἐσθίοντες διεγένοντο. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἔσπευδον διὰ μάχης κριθῆναι πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Βροῦτον ὅσον αὐτῷ γέγονεν εὐτυχίας. καὶ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ συνέβη τόν τε κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ τὸν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶνα κριθῆναι.
3 τύχῃ δέ τινι μᾶλλον ἢ κακίᾳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἡγεμόνων ἠγνόησε τὸ κατόρθωμα Βροῦτος ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι διαγενομένων. οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰς δευτέραν μάχην προῆλθε, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τῇ στρατιᾷ παρεσκευασμένος εἰς πολὺν χρόνον, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἱδρυμένος, ὥστε καὶ χειμῶνος ἀπαθὲς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δυσεκβίαστον ἔχειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, τῷ δὲ κρατεῖν βεβαίως τῆς θαλάττης καὶ νενικηκέναι πεζῇ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ἐπ' ἐλπίδων μεγάλων καὶ φρονήματος γεγονώς.
4 Ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκέτι πολλοῖς ὄντων καθεκτῶν, ἀλλὰ μοναρχίας δεομένων, ὁ θεός, ἐξάγειν καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὸν μόνον ἐμποδὼν ὄντα τῷ κρατεῖν δυναμένῳ βουλόμενος,

XLVII. But Octavius and Antony were no better off; they were scantily provisioned, and the low site of their camp made them expect a grievous winter. For they were huddled together on the edge of marshes, and the autumn rains which fell after the battle kept filling their tents with mud and water that froze at once, so cold was the weather. Moreover, while they were in this plight, word came to them of the disaster which had befallen them at sea. For a large force which was being brought from Italy by command of Octavius was attacked by the ships of Brutus and destroyed, and the small remnant of them that escaped their enemies were driven by hunger to subsist upon the sails and tackle of their ships. On hearing of this, they were eager to have the issue decided by battle before Brutus learned what great good fortune had come to him. For it happened that the conflicts on sea and land were decided on one and the same day. But by some chance, rather than by the fault of his naval commanders, Brutus was ignorant of their success until twenty days afterwards. Otherwise he would not have proceeded to a second battle, since his army was supplied with provisions for a long time, and he was posted in an advantageous position, so that his camp did not suffer from wintry weather, and on the side towards the enemy was almost impregnable, while his secure mastery of the sea and the victory of the land forces under his own command had put him in high hopes and spirits.

But since, as it would seem, the government of Rome could no longer be a democracy, and a monarchy was necessary, Heaven, wishing to remove from the scene the only man who stood in the way

ἀπέκοψε τὴν τύχην ἐκείνην, καίπερ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν τὸν Βροῦτον ἀφικομένην, μέλλοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ μάχεσθαι πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ Κλώδιός τις ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόμολος ἧκεν, ἀγγέλλων ὅτι διεφθαρμένον ᾐσθημένοι τὸν στόλον οἱ
5 περὶ Καίσαρα σπεύδουσι διαγωνίσασθαι. ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἶχε πίστιν οὐδ' εἰς ὄψιν ἦλθε τῷ Βρούτῳ, καταφρονηθεὶς παντάπασιν ὡς μηδὲν ἀκηκοὼς ὑγιὲς ἢ τὰ ψευδῆ πρὸς χάριν ἀπαγγέλλων.

XLVIII. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ πάλιν φασὶν εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τὸ φάσμα τῷ Βρούτῳ, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιδειξάμενον ὄψιν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' οἴχεσθαι. Πόπλιος δὲ Βολούμνιος, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ συνεστρατευμένος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Βρούτῳ,
τοῦτο μὲν οὐ λέγει τὸ σημεῖον, μελισσῶν δέ φησι 1007
τὸν πρῶτον ἀετὸν ἀνάπλεων γενέσθαι· καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὸς ἀπ' αὐτομάτου τὸν βραχίονα μύρον ῥόδινον ἐξανθεῖν, καὶ πολλάκις ἐξαλείφοντας
2 καὶ ἀπομάττοντας μηδὲν περαίνειν. καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης αὐτῆς ἀετοὺς δύο συμπεσόντας ἀλλήλοις ἐν μεταιχμίῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων μάχεσθαι, καὶ σιγὴν ἄπιστον ἔχειν τὸ πεδίον θεωμένων ἁπάντων, εἶξαι δὲ καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν κατὰ Βροῦτον. ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ περιβόητος γέγονεν ὁ τῆς πύλης ἀνοιχθείσης ἀπαντήσας τῷ φέροντι τὸν ἀετὸν καὶ κατακοπεὶς ταῖς μαχαίραις ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἰωνισαμένων.

XLIX. Προαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ καταστήσας ἐναντίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεῖχε πολὺν χρόνον· ὑποψίαι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μηνύσεις κατά

of him who was able to be sole master, cut off from Brutus the knowledge of that good fortune, although it very nearly reached him in time; for only one day before the battle which he was about to fight, late in the day, a certain Clodius deserted from the enemy, and brought word that Octavius had learned of the destruction of his fleet and was therefore eager for a decisive struggle. The man found no credence for his story, nor did he even come into the presence of Brutus, but was altogether despised; it was thought that either he had heard an idle tale, or was bringing false tidings in order to win favour.

XLVIII. On that night, they say, the phantom visited Brutus again,[1] manifesting the same appearance as before, but went away without a word. Publius Volumnius, however, a philosopher, and a companion of Brutus in all his campaigns, makes no mention of this omen, but says that the foremost standard was covered with bees; and that of its own accord the arm of one of the officers sweated oil of roses, and though they often rubbed and wiped it off, it was of no avail. He says also that just before the battle itself two eagles fought a pitched battle with one another in the space between the camps, and as all were gazing at them, while an incredible silence reigned over the plain, the eagle towards Brutus gave up the fight and fled. And the story of the Ethiopian is well known, who, as the gate of the camp was thrown open, met the standard-bearer, and was cut to pieces by the soldiers, who thought his appearance ominous.

XLIX. After Brutus had led out his forces in battle array and stationed them over against the enemy, he waited a long time; for as he was reviewing his

[1] See chapter xxxvi.

τινων προσέπιπτον ἐπισκοποῦντι τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἑώρα μάχης ἄρχειν οὐ πάνυ προθύμους ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ προσμένοντας τὸ τῶν
2 πεζῶν ἔργον. εἶτ' ἐξαίφνης ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ τετιμημένος ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ διαπρεπῶς παρὰ τὸν Βροῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξιππασάμενος μεταβάλλεται πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· Καμουλάτος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο. τοῦτον ἰδὼν ὁ Βροῦτος ἤλγησεν ἰσχυρῶς· καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ μείζονος μεταβολῆς καὶ προδοσίας εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἦγεν, εἰς
3 ὥραν ἐνάτην τοῦ ἡλίου καταφερομένου. καὶ τῷ μὲν καθ' αὑτὸν ἐκράτησε μέρει καὶ προῆλθεν ὑποχωροῦντι τῷ ἀριστερῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγκείμενος· καὶ συνεπέρρωσαν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἅμα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐμβαλόντες τεταραγμένοις· τὸ δ' ἕτερον κέρας, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθείη, τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀντιπαρεξαγόντων, πλήθει δὲ λειπομένων, διεσπᾶτο μέσον καὶ γιγνόμενον ἀσθενὲς οὐκ ἀντεῖχε τοῖς ἐναντίοις,
4 ἀλλ' ἔφυγε πρῶτον. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο διακόψαντες εὐθὺς ἐκυκλοῦντο τὸν Βροῦτον, αὐτὸν μὲν ὅσα καὶ στρατηγικῆς καὶ στρατιωτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ἀποδεικνύμενον, ᾧ δὲ πλέον ἔσχε τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ, τούτῳ βλαπτόμενον. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων τὸ νικηθὲν εὐθὺς ἀπολώλει τότε· τῶν δὲ Κασσίου τραπέντων ὀλίγοι διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ σωζόμενοι τῷ προηττῆσθαι περιδεεῖς ὄντες ἀνέπλησαν ἀθυμίας καὶ ταραχῆς τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ
5 στρατεύματος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Μάρκος ὁ Κάτωνος

troops he became suspicious of some of them, and heard them accused of treachery; he saw, too, that his horsemen were not very eager to begin the battle, but always waited to see what the infantry did. Then, of a sudden, a man who was a good soldier and had been conspicuously honoured for his bravery by Brutus, rode out of the ranks and went over to the enemy; his name was Camulatus. The sight of this gave Brutus great distress; and partly from anger, partly because he was afraid of greater treachery and desertion, he led at once against the enemy, at about three o'clock in the afternoon. With the part under his own immediate command he was victorious, and advanced, pressing hard upon the retreating left wing of the enemy; his cavalry, too, dashed forward along with the infantry and fell upon a disordered foe; the other wing, however, which was extended by its commanders to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy, to whom they were inferior in numbers, was thus weakened in the centre and could not hold out against their opponents, but fled first. After cutting their way through this wing, the enemy at once enveloped Brutus. He himself displayed all the valour possible in a soldier and commander, contending with judgment and personal prowess for victory in the terrible crisis; but that which was an advantage for him in the former battle was a detriment to him now. For in the former battle the conquered wing of the enemy had been at once destroyed, but when the soldiers of Cassius were routed, only few of them were slain, and those who then escaped, rendered fearful now by their former defeat, filled the greater part of his army with dejection and confusion. Here Marcus the son of Cato also, fighting

υἱὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ γενναιοτάτοις τῶν νέων
μαχόμενος καὶ καταπονούμενος οὐκ ἔφυγεν οὐδ'
εἶξεν, ἀλλὰ χρώμενός τε τῇ χειρὶ καὶ φράζων
ὅστις εἴη, καὶ πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων, ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ
πολλοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν πολεμίων. ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κράτιστοι τοῦ Βρούτου προκιν-
δυνεύοντες.

L. Ἦν δέ τις Λουκίλλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ἐν τοῖς
ἑταίροις. οὗτος ὁρῶν βαρβάρους τινὰς ἱππέας
ἐν τῇ διώξει τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδένα ποιουμένους
λόγον, ἐλαύνοντας δὲ ῥύδην ἐπὶ τὸν Βροῦτον,
ἔγνω παρακινδυνεύσας ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι.
καὶ μικρὸν ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτὸς ἔφη Βροῦτος εἶναι·
καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον δεόμενος ἄγειν
ἑαυτόν, ὡς Καίσαρα δεδοικώς, ἐκείνῳ δὲ θαρρῶν.
2 οἱ δ' ἀσπασάμενοι τὸ εὕρημα καὶ τύχῃ τινὶ
θαυμαστῇ κεχρῆσθαι νομίζοντες ἦγον τὸν ἄνδρα
σκότους ἤδη, προπέμψαντες ἐξ αὑτῶν τινας
ἀγγέλους παρὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. αὐτός τε οὖν
ἡσθεὶς ἀπήντα τοῖς ἄγουσι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ
πυνθανόμενοι ζῶντα Βροῦτον κομίζεσθαι συνετρό-
χαζον, οἱ μὲν ἐλεεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τῆς τύχης, οἱ δὲ
τῆς δόξης ἀνάξιον, ἄγραν βαρβάρων ὑπὸ φιλο-
3 ψυχίας γενόμενον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν
Ἀντώνιος ὑπέστη, διαπορῶν ὅπως χρὴ δέξασθαι
τὸν Βροῦτον, ὁ δὲ Λουκίλλιος προσαχθεὶς μάλα 1008
τεθαρρηκώς "Μάρκον μέν," εἶπεν, "Ἀντώνιε,
Βροῦτον οὐδεὶς ᾕρηκεν οὐδ' ἂν ἕλοι πολέμιος· μὴ
τοσοῦτον ἡ τύχη κρατήσειε τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἀλλ'
ἐκεῖνος εὑρεθήσεται ζῶν ἤ που καὶ νεκρὸς ἀξίως
4 κείμενος ἑαυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς σοὺς στρατιώτας

among the bravest and noblest young men, was overpowered, but would not yield nor fly, but plying his sword, and declaring that he was Marcus Cato and Marcus Cato's son, fell dead upon the many enemies whom he had slain.[1] The bravest of the rest fell also, risking their lives in defence of Brutus.

L. Now, there was a certain Lucilius, a brave man, among the comrades of Brutus.[2] This man, seeing some barbarian horsemen ignoring all others in their pursuit and riding impetuously after Brutus, determined at the risk of his life to stop them. So falling behind a little, he told them that he was Brutus. The Barbarians believed him because he asked them to conduct him to Antony, pretending to be afraid of Octavius but to have no fear of Antony. They were delighted with their unexpected prize, and thinking themselves amazingly fortunate, led Lucilius along in the darkness which had now fallen, after sending ahead some messengers to Antony. Antony himself was pleased, of course, and set out to meet the escort, and all the rest also who learned that Brutus was being brought in alive flocked together, some thinking him to be pitied for his misfortune, others that he was unworthy of his fame in thus allowing his love of life to make him a prey of Barbarians. When they were near, however, Antony paused, at a loss to know how he ought to receive Brutus; but Lucilius, as he was brought forward, said with great boldness: "Marcus Brutus, O Antony, no foe has taken or can take; may fortune not so far prevail over virtue! Nay, he will be found living, or possibly even lying dead as becomes him. It is by cheating

[1] Cf. *Cato the Younger*, lxxiii. 3.
[2] Cf. *Antony*, lxix. 1.

παρακρουσάμενος ἥκω, παθεῖν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἀνηκέστων παραιτούμενος." ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Λουκιλλίου καὶ πάντων ἐκπλαγέντων Ἀντώνιος πρὸς τοὺς κομίσαντας αὐτὸν ἀποβλέψας, "Ἦπου χαλεπῶς," εἶπεν, "ὦ συστρατιῶται,
5 φέρετε τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ περιυβρίσθαι δοκοῦντες. ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε κρείττονα τῆς ζητουμένης ἄγρας ᾑρηκότες. πολέμιον γὰρ ζητοῦντες ἥκετε φίλον ἡμῖν κομίζοντες· ὡς ἐγὼ Βρούτῳ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὅ τι ἂν ἐχρησάμην ζῶντι, τοιούτων δ' ἀνδρῶν φίλων τυγχάνοιμι μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίων." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν Λουκίλλιον ἀσπασάμενος τότε μὲν ἑνὶ τῶν φίλων συνέστησεν, ὕστερον δὲ χρώμενος εἰς πάντα πιστῷ καὶ βεβαίῳ διετέλεσε.

LI. Βροῦτος δὲ διαβάς τι ῥεῖθρον ὑλῶδες καὶ παράκρημνον ἤδη σκότους ὄντος οὐ πολὺ προῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ κοίλῳ καὶ πέτραν ἔχοντι μεγάλην προκειμένην καθίσας, ὀλίγων περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων καὶ φίλων ὄντων, πρῶτα μὲν ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων ὄντα μεστὸν ἀνεφθέγξατο δύο στίχους, ὧν τὸν ἕτερον Βολούμνιος ἀνέγραψε·

Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν·

2 τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου φησὶν ἐπιλαθέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ μικρὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πεσόντων ἑταίρων ἕκαστον ὀνομάζων μάλιστα τῇ Φλαβίου μνήμῃ καὶ τῇ Λαβεῶνος ἐπεστέναξεν. ἦν δ' αὐτοῦ πρεσβευτὴς ὁ Λαβεών, ὁ δὲ Φλάβιος ἔπαρχος τῶν τεχνιτῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δέ τις αὐτός τε διψήσας καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ὁρῶν ὁμοίως ἔχοντα,

these soldiers of thine that I am come, and I am ready to suffer for it any fatal penalty." When Lucilius had thus spoken and all were in amazement, Antony turned to his conductors and said: "I suppose, my fellow soldiers, you are vexed at your mistake and think that you have been flouted; but be assured that you have taken a better prey than that you sought. For you sought an enemy, but you come bringing me a friend. Since, by the gods, I know not how I could have treated Brutus, had he come into my hands alive; but such men as this I would have my friends rather than my enemies." With these words he embraced Lucilius, and for the time being put him in charge of one of his friends, but ever afterwards found in him a sure and trusty helper.

LI. But Brutus, after crossing a brook which ran among trees and had precipitous banks, would go no further, since it was already dark, but sat down in a hollow place with a great rock in front of it, having a few officers and friends about him. First, he turned his eyes to the heavens, which were studded with stars, and recited two verses, one of which Volumnius has recorded:—

"O Zeus, do not forget the author of these ills!"[1]

the other Volumnius says he has forgotten. Then, after a little, he called the name of each of his comrades who had fallen in the battle to defend him, groaning most heavily at the mention of Flavius and Labeo. Labeo was his legate,[2] and Flavius his chief of engineers. At this point, someone who was thirsty himself and saw that Brutus was thirsty too, took a

[1] Euripides, *Medeia*, 334 (Kirchhoff).
[2] Cf. chapter xii. 3 ff.

λαβὼν κράνος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν κατέδραμε.
3 ψόφου δὲ κατὰ θάτερα προσπεσόντος Βολούμνιος προῆλθε κατοψόμενος, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Δάρδανος ὁ ὑπασπιστής. ἐπανελθόντες δὲ μετὰ μικρὸν ἠρώτησαν περὶ τοῦ πώματος. ἠθικῶς δὲ σφόδρα μειδιάσας ὁ Βροῦτος πρὸς τὸν Βολούμνιον "Ἐκπέποται," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἕτερον ὑμῖν κομισθήσεται." πεμφθεὶς δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκινδύνευσεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἁλῶναι καὶ μόλις ἐσώθη
4 τετρωμένος. εἰκάζοντι δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τεθνάναι Στατύλλιος ὑπέστη διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπαισάμενος (ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἦν) κατόψεσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ πυρσὸν ἄρας ἄνπερ εὕρῃ τἀκεῖ σῳζόμενα, πάλιν ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πυρσὸς ἤρθη τοῦ Στατυλλίου παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπανῄει χρόνῳ πολλῷ Βροῦτος εἶπεν· "Ἂν ζῇ Στατύλλιος, ἀφίξεται." συνέβη δ' αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφθαρῆναι.

LII. Προϊούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλίνας, ὡς ἔτυχε καθεζόμενος, πρὸς οἰκέτην ἑαυτοῦ Κλεῖτον ἐλάλει. σιωπῶντος δὲ τοῦ Κλείτου καὶ δακρύοντος, αὖθις ἐπισπασάμενος τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν Δάρδανον ἰδίᾳ τινὰς αὐτῷ προσέφερε λόγους. τέλος δὲ τὸν Βολούμνιον αὐτὸν Ἑλληνιστὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὑπεμίμνησκε· καὶ παρεκάλει τῇ χειρὶ συνεφάψασθαι τοῦ ξίφους αὐτῷ
2 καὶ συνεπερεῖσαι τὴν πληγήν. τοῦ δὲ Βολουμνίου διωσαμένου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως ἐχόντων, εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὡς δεῖ μὴ μένειν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν,

helmet and ran down to the river. Then a noise fell upon their ears from the opposite direction, and Volumnius went forth to reconnoitre, and with him Dardanus his shield-bearer. After a little while, however, they returned, and asked about the water to drink. Whereupon, with a very expressive smile, Brutus said to Volumnius: "It is drunk up; but another draught shall be fetched for you." Then the same man who had brought the first was sent for more, but he ran the risk of being captured by the enemy, was wounded, and with difficulty came off safe. Now, since Brutus conjectured that not many of his men had been killed in the battle, Statyllius[1] promised him that after cutting his way through the enemy (there was no other way), he would reconnoitre the camp, raise a blazing torch if he found things there in safety, and then come back to him. Accordingly, the blazing torch was raised, since Statyllius succeeded in reaching the camp; but after a long time had passed and he did not return, Brutus said: "If Statyllius is alive, he will come back." But it so happened that he fell in with the enemy on his way back, and was slain.

LII. As the night advanced, Brutus turned, just as he sat, towards his servant Cleitus, and talked with him. And when Cleitus wept and made no answer, Brutus next drew Dardanus his shield-bearer aside and had some private conversation with him. Finally, he spoke to Volumnius himself in Greek, reminding him of their student life, and begged him to grasp his sword with him and help him drive home the blow. And when Volumnius refused, and the rest likewise, and some one said they must not tarry

[1] Cf. *Cato the Younger*, lxv. 4 f.; lxxiii. 4.

ἐξαναστάς, "Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "φευκτέον·
ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τῶν ποδῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν."
ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἑκάστῳ μάλα φαιδρὸς
ἥδεσθαι μὲν ἔφη μεγάλην ἡδονὴν ὅτι τῶν φίλων
αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐψεύσατο, τῇ τύχῃ δ' ἐγκαλεῖν
3 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· ἑαυτὸν δὲ τῶν νενικηκότων
μακαριώτερον νομίζειν, οὐκ ἐχθὲς οὐδὲ πρώην
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, ἀπολείποντα δόξαν ἀρετῆς, 1009
ἣν οὔθ' ὅπλοις οὔτε χρήμασιν ἀπολείψουσιν οἱ
κεκρατηκότες, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν ὅτι δικαίους ἄνδρας
ἄδικοι καὶ κακοὶ χρηστοὺς ἀπολέσαντες οὐ προσ-
4 ηκόντως ἄρχουσι. δεηθεὶς δὲ καὶ παρακαλέσας
σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπωτέρω μετὰ δυεῖν
ἢ τριῶν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Στράτων ὁ ἀπὸ λόγων
ῥητορικῶν γεγονὼς αὐτῷ συνήθης. καὶ τοῦτον
ἔγγιστα παραστησάμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸ ξίφος
γυμνὸν ἐπὶ τῆς λαβῆς ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις
5 ἐρείσας καὶ περιπεσὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ δέ φασιν
οὐκ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Στράτωνα, πολλὰ πάνυ τοῦ
Βρούτου δεηθέντος, ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν ὄψιν ὑπο-
στῆσαι τὸ ξίφος· ἐκεῖνον δὲ ῥύμῃ προσβαλόντα
τὸ στέρνον καὶ διώσαντα συντόμως ἀποθανεῖν.

LIII. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Στράτωνα Μεσσάλας ἑταῖ-
ρος ὢν Βρούτῳ Καίσαρι διαλλαγεὶς ἐπὶ σχολῆς
ποτε προσήγαγε, καὶ δακρύσας εἶπεν· "Οὗτός
ἐστιν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ὁ ἀνήρ, ὁ τῷ ἐμῷ Βρούτῳ τὴν
τελευταίαν ὑπουργήσας χάριν." ἀποδεξάμενος
οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ἔν τε τοῖς πόνοις καὶ

but fly, Brutus rose and said: "By all means must we fly; not with our feet, however, but with our hands." Then, after clasping each by the hand, with a very cheerful countenance he said he rejoiced with exceeding joy that not one of his friends had proved false to him, and as for Fortune, he blamed her only for his country's sake; himself he regarded as more to be envied than his conquerors, not yesterday and the day before merely, but even now, since he was leaving behind him a reputation for virtue, which those who surpassed in arms or wealth would not do; since the world would believe that base and unjust men who put to death the good and just were unfit to rule. Then, after earnestly entreating them to save themselves, he withdrew a little way in the company of two or three friends, among whom was Strato, who had been his intimate since they studied rhetoric together. This man he placed nearest to himself, and then, grasping with both hands the hilt of his naked sword, he fell upon it and died. Some, however, say that it was not Brutus himself, but Strato, who at his very urgent request, and with averted eyes, held the sword in front of him, upon which he fell with such force that it passed quite through his breast and brought him instant death.[1]

LIII. As for this Strato, Messala, the comrade of Brutus, after a reconciliation with Octavius, once found occasion to introduce him to his new master, and said, with a burst of tears: "This is the man, O Caesar, who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus." Accordingly, Strato was kindly received by Octavius, who, in his subsequent labours, and

[1] The battles at Philippi occurred in 42 B.C., and Brutus was forty-three years of age when he died.

ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἄκτιον ἀγῶσιν ἕνα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
2 ἀγαθῶν γενομένων Ἑλλήνων. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Μεσσάλαν λέγουσιν ὕστερον ἐπαινούμενον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ὅτι, καίπερ ἐν Φιλίπποις πολεμιώτατος αὐτοῖς γενόμενος διὰ Βροῦτον, ἐν Ἀκτίῳ προθυμότατον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχεν, "Ἐγώ τοι," φάναι, "ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἀεὶ τῆς βελτίονος καὶ δικαιοτέρας τιμῆς καὶ μερίδος ἐγενόμην."

3 Τὸν δὲ Βροῦτον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν τεθνηκότα τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῇ πολυτελεστάτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φοινικίδων περιβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν φοινικίδα κεκλεμμένην αἰσθόμενος ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ὑφελόμενον. τὰ δὲ λείψανα πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ
4 Βρούτου Σερβιλίαν ἀπέπεμψε. Πορκίαν δὲ τὴν Βρούτου γυναῖκα Νικόλαος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μάξιμος βουλομένην ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐπέτρεπε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ προσέκειντο καὶ παρεφύλαττον, ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναρπάσασαν ἄνθρακας καταπιεῖν καὶ τὸ στόμα συγκλείσασαν
5 καὶ μύσασαν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι. καίτοι φέρεταί τις ἐπιστολὴ Βρούτου πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐγκαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρομένου περὶ τῆς Πορκίας, ὡς ἀμεληθείσης ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ προελομένης διὰ νόσον καταλιπεῖν τὸν βίον. ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Νικόλαος ἠγνοηκέναι τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τό γε πάθος καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τελευτῆς ὑπονοῆσαι δίδωσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιστόλιον, εἴπερ ἄρα τῶν γνησίων ἐστίν.

especially at the battle of Actium, found him, as well as other Greeks, a brave partisan. And it is said that Messala himself was once praised by Octavius because, though at Philippi he had been most hostile to him and Antony for the sake of Brutus, at Actium he had been a most zealous adherent of his; whereupon Messala said: "Indeed, O Caesar, I have ever been on the better and juster side."

When Antony found Brutus lying dead, he ordered the body to be wrapped in the most costly of his own robes, and afterwards, on hearing that the robe had been stolen, put the thief to death. The ashes of Brutus he sent home to his mother Servilia.[1] As for Porcia, the wife of Brutus, Nicolaüs the philosopher, as well as Valerius Maximus,[2] relates that she now desired to die, but was opposed by all her friends, who kept strict watch upon her; wherefore she snatched up live coals from the fire, swallowed them, kept her mouth fast closed, and thus made away with herself. And yet there is extant a letter of Brutus to his friends in which he chides them with regard to Porcia and laments her fate, because she was neglected by them and therefore driven by illness to prefer death to life. It would seem, then, that Nicolaüs was mistaken in the time of her death, since her distemper, her love for Brutus, and the manner of her death, are also indicated in the letter, if, indeed, it is a genuine one.

[1] Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, 13) says that the head of Brutus was sent to Rome to be thrown at the feet of Caesar's statue.

[2] *De factis mem.* iv. 6, 5.

ΔΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΡΟΥΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Πολλῶν τοίνυν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπαρξάντων
καλῶν, ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις δὲ τοῦ μεγίστους ἐλαχί-
σταις ἀφορμαῖς γενέσθαι, τοῦτο τῷ Δίωνι κάλλι-
στόν ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τὸν ἀμφισβητοῦντα,
καθάπερ ὁ Βροῦτος Κάσσιον, ἄνδρα πρὸς μὲν
ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀξιόπιστον, εἰς δὲ
τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐλάττονας τόλμῃ καὶ δεινότητι
καὶ πράξει συμβολὰς παρασχόμενον, ᾧ γε καὶ
τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου προσποιοῦσιν ἔνιοι τὴν ἀρχήν,
ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐπὶ Καίσαρα γνώμης τοῦτον ἀτρε-
2 μοῦντι Βρούτῳ γενέσθαι λέγοντες. Δίων δ' ὥσπερ
ὅπλα καὶ πλοῖα καὶ στρατιωτικὴν δύναμιν, οὕτω
καὶ φίλους καὶ συνεργοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτὸς
ἑαυτῷ φαίνεται κτησάμενος. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς
Βροῦτος ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πολέ-
μου πλοῦτον ἔσχε καὶ δύναμιν, οὕτω καὶ Δίων,
ἀλλὰ τῷ πολέμῳ προεισήνεγκεν αὐτὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
πλοῦτον, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας τοῖς
3 τῆς φυγῆς ἐφοδίοις προκαταχρησάμενος. ἔτι δὲ 1010
Βροῦτος μὲν καὶ Κάσσιος, οὐκ ὂν ἀσφαλὲς ἡσυ-
χίαν ἄγειν ἐκπεσοῦσι τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀλλ' ὠφληκόσι
δίκην θανάτου καὶ διωκομένοις, ἀναγκαίως εἰς τὸν
πόλεμον κατέφυγον· καὶ τὰ σώματα τοῖς ὅπλοις
παρακαταθέμενοι διεκινδύνευσαν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν τὸ
πλέον ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν, Δίων δ' ἀδεέστερον ἐν τῇ
φυγῇ τοῦ φυγαδεύσαντος τυράννου καὶ ἥδιον διά-
γων ἀνέρριψεν ἑκὼν κίνδυνον τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ τῷ
σῶσαι Σικελίαν.

COMPARISON OF DION AND BRUTUS

I. We see, therefore, that both men had many noble traits, and especially that they rose to the greatest heights from the most inconsiderable beginnings; but this is most to the credit of Dion. For he had no one to dispute his eminence, as Brutus had in Cassius, a man whose virtue and fame did not inspire confidence in like degree, but who, by reason of his boldness, ability, and efficiency, contributed no less than Brutus did to the war; indeed, some attribute to him the origin of the whole enterprise, declaring that he took the lead in the plot against Caesar when Brutus was passive. Dion, however, appears to have acquired by his own efforts, not only arms and vessels and a military force, but also friends and co-workers for his enterprise. However, Dion did not, like Brutus, win wealth and power from the course of the war itself, nay, he contributed his own wealth for the war, expending in behalf of the liberty of his countrymen those resources which supported him in his exile. And further, it was not safe for Brutus and Cassius to keep quiet after their banishment from Rome, but since they were condemned to death and pursued, it was of necessity that they resorted to war; and in committing their persons to the protection of their arms they incurred danger in their own behalf rather than in behalf of their countrymen; whereas Dion was living with greater confidence and pleasure in his banishment than the tyrant who banished him, and yet of his own accord he hazarded a peril so great in order to save Sicily.

II. Καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὅμοιον Διονυσίου Συρακουσίοις ἢ Καίσαρος ἀπαλλαγῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ'[1] ἠρνεῖτο τύραννος εἶναι κακῶν τε μυρίων ἐμπεπλήκει Σικελίαν· ἡ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀρχὴ συνισταμένη μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις πράγματα παρέσχε, δεξαμένοις δὲ καὶ κρατηθεῖσιν ὄνομα καὶ δόκησις ἐφάνη μόνον, ἔργον δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ὠμὸν οὐδὲ τυραννικὸν ὑπῆρξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεομένοις ἔδοξε τοῖς πράγμασι μοναρχίας πρᾳότατος ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαίμονος
2 δεδόσθαι. διὸ Καίσαρα μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπόθησεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὥστε χαλεπὸς γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπαραίτητος τοῖς ἀπεκτονόσι, Δίωνα δ' ἡ Διονυσίου πάρεσις ἐκ Συρακουσῶν καὶ τὸ μὴ κατασκάψαι τοῦ προτέρου τυράννου τὸν τάφον ἐπαίτιον μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐποίησεν.

III. Ἐν αὐταῖς τοίνυν ταῖς πολεμικαῖς πράξεσιν ὁ μὲν Δίων ἄμεμπτος γέγονε στρατηγός, ὡς[2] μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβουλεύετο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄριστα χρώμενος, ἃ δ' ἐπταίσθη δι' ἑτέρους ἀναλαβὼν
2 καὶ μεταστήσας ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον· ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τὸν ἔσχατον ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων οὔθ' ὑποστῆναι δοκεῖ φρονίμως οὔτε σφαλεὶς ἐπανόρθωσιν εὑρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπεῖπε καὶ προεῖτο τὰς ἐλπίδας, οὐδ' ὅσον Πομπήϊος ἐπιτολμήσας τῇ τύχῃ· καὶ ταῦτα πολλῆς μὲν αὐτόθι λειπομένης ἐλπίδος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ κρατῶν πάσης βεβαίως τῆς θαλάσσης.

3 Ὃ δὲ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὧν ἐγκαλοῦσι Βρούτῳ, τὸ σωθέντα τῇ Καίσαρος χάριτι καὶ σώσαντα τῶν

[1] οὐδ' Bekker corrects to οὔτ'.
[2] ὡς with Coraës and Bekker: ὧν.

II. And verily it was not a like thing for Syracuse to be rid of Dionysius and Rome of Caesar. For Dionysius was even an avowed tyrant, and filled Sicily with countless ills; whereas the rule of Caesar, although during its establishment it gave no little trouble to its opponents, still, after they had been overpowered and had accepted it, they saw that it was a tyranny only in name and appearance, and no cruel or tyrannical act was authorized by it; nay, it was plain that the ills of the state required a monarchy, and that Caesar, like a most gentle physician, had been assigned to them by Heaven itself. Therefore the Roman people felt at once a yearning for Caesar, and in consequence became harsh and implacable towards his murderers; whereas Dion, for letting Dionysius escape from Syracuse, and for not demolishing the tomb of the former tyrant, was held most culpable by his countrymen.

III. Next, as regards their actual military achievements, Dion was a consummate general; where he himself made the plans, he achieved the best results, and where failure was due to others, he restored and bettered the situation. Brutus, on the other hand, as it seems, was unwise in entering upon the last supreme struggle, and when he was defeated, could not find a way to restore his cause, but gave up and abandoned his hopes, not even facing adverse fortune with as much resolution as Pompey, and that too although on land he had much ground for confidence left in his troops, and with his fleet was secure master of all the sea.

Moreover, the gravest charge which is brought against Brutus, namely, that although his life was spared by the kindness of Caesar, together with the

συνεαλωκότων ὅσους ἐβούλετο καὶ φίλον νομιζόμενον καὶ προτιμηθέντα πολλῶν αὐτόχειρα τοῦ σώσαντος γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄν τις εἴποι κατὰ Δίωνος. ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον, οἰκεῖος μὲν ὢν Διονυσίῳ καὶ φίλος ὤρθου τὰ πράγματα καὶ συνδιεφύλαττεν, ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀδικηθεὶς περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσας ἐκ προφανοῦς εἰς πόλεμον κατέστη νόμιμον καὶ δί-
4 καιον. ἢ τοῦτ' ἀντιστρέφει πρῶτον; ὃ γὰρ εἰς ἔπαινον ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἀνδράσι μέγιστον, ἡ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀπέχθεια καὶ μισοπονηρία, τοῦτ' εἰλικρινές ἐστι τῷ Βρούτῳ καὶ καθαρόν, ἰδίᾳ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐγκαλῶν Καίσαρι τῆς κοινῆς προεκινδύνευεν
5 ἐλευθερίας· ὁ δ' εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἔπαθεν αὐτός, οὐκ ἂν ἐπολέμησε. καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦται ταῖς Πλάτωνος ἐπιστολαῖς, ἐξ ὧν δῆλός ἐστιν ὡς ἀποβληθεὶς τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἀποστάς, κατέλυσε Διονύσιον. ἔτι Βροῦτον μὲν καὶ Πομπηΐῳ φίλον ἐποίησεν, ἐχθρὸν ὄντα, καὶ πολέμιον Καίσαρι, τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον, ὡς ἔχθρας ὅρῳ καὶ φιλίας ἑνὶ χρώμενον τῷ δικαίῳ· Δίων δὲ πρὸς χάριν ὤρθου πολλὰ Διονύσιον, ὅτ' ἦν βέβαιος αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν
6 ἀπιστηθεὶς ἐπολέμησε. διὸ τούτῳ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι πάντες ἐπίστευσαν, ὡς μεταστήσας Διονύσιον οὐκ ἂν βεβαιώσαιτο τὴν ἀρχὴν αὑτῷ, πρᾳοτέρῳ τυραννίδος ὀνόματι παραγαγὼν τοὺς πολίτας, περὶ δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἦν ἀκούειν ὅτι μόνος τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συναραμένων

lives of all the fellow captives for whom he wished to intercede, and although Caesar held him a friend and honoured him above many, he struck down his preserver with his own hand,—this charge no one can bring against Dion. On the contrary, while he was a courtier and friend of Dionysius, he tried to set the state in order and help in preserving it; but when he had been banished from his country, wronged as a husband, and deprived of his property, he openly resorted to a war that was lawful and just. Or does this argument reverse itself at once? For that which redounds to the praise of both men is their hostility to tyrants and hatred of their baseness, and this is disinterested and sincere in the case of Brutus, since without any private grievance against Caesar he risked his life for the common liberty; whereas, had not Dion himself been mistreated, he would not have gone to war. And this is made manifest by the letters of Plato, from which it is clear that Dion did not revolt, but was cast out from the tyranny, and therefore overthrew Dionysius. Still further, it was the public good that made Brutus a friend even to Pompey, who was his foe, and an enemy to Caesar, since he determined both hatred and friendship by justice alone; Dion, on the other hand, gave Dionysius much support in order to win his favour, when he was secure in his confidence, and when he was discredited by him, it was to gratify anger that he went to war. Therefore Dion was not trusted even by all his friends, who felt that after removing Dionysius he might secure the government for himself, enticing his countrymen along by some milder name than that of tyranny; but the enemies of Brutus were wont to say that of all the conspirators against Caesar he

ἕνα προὔθετο σκοπὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους τὴν πάτριον ἀποδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις πολιτείαν.

IV. Ἄνευ γε μὴν τούτων ὁ πρὸς Διονύσιον 1011
ἀγὼν οὐχ ὅμοιος ἦν δήπου τῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα. Διονυσίου μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν κατεφρόνησε τῶν συνήθων ἐν μέθαις καὶ κύβοις καὶ γυναιξὶ τὰς πλείστας ποιουμένου διατριβάς· τὸ δὲ τὴν Καίσαρος κατάλυσιν εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι καὶ μὴ φοβηθῆναι τὴν δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν καὶ τύχην, οὗ καὶ τοὔνομα τοὺς Παρθυαίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖς οὐκ εἴα καθεύδειν, ὑπερφυοῦς ἦν ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς μηθὲν ὑφίεσθαι
2 φόβῳ τοῦ φρονήματος δυναμένης. διὸ τῷ μὲν ὀφθέντι μόνον ἐν Σικελίᾳ μυριάδες οὐκ ὀλίγαι συνέστησαν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον· ἡ δὲ Καίσαρος δόξα καὶ πεσόντος ὤρθου τοὺς φίλους, καὶ τοὔνομα τὸν χρησάμενον ἦρεν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀμηχάνου πρῶτον εὐθὺς εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, ὡς ἀλεξιφάρμακον τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίου περιαψάμενον ἔχθραν καὶ δύναμιν.

3 Εἰ δὲ φήσει τις ὅτι μεγάλοις μὲν ἀγῶσιν ὁ Δίων ἐξέβαλε τὸν τύραννον, Καίσαρα δὲ Βροῦτος ἔκτεινε γυμνὸν καὶ ἀφύλακτον, αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεινότητος ἄκρας καὶ στρατηγίας ἦν ἔργον, ἄνδρα τοσαύτην περιβεβλημένον δύναμιν ἀφύλακτον λαβεῖν καὶ γυμνόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξαίφνης οὐδὲ μόνος ἢ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιπεσὼν ἀνεῖλεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ συνθεὶς τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπιθέμενος, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐψεύσατ' αὐτόν. ἢ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἔκρινε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἢ τῷ προκρῖναι τοὺς πιστευ-
4 θέντας ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε. Δίων δὲ εἴτε κρίνας κακῶς ἐπίστευσεν ἑαυτὸν πονηροῖς εἴτε χρώμενος

alone had one aim from first to last, namely the restoration to the Romans of their ancient form of government.

IV. However, apart from these considerations, the struggle against Dionysius was surely unlike that against Caesar. For Dionysius must have been despised by every one of his associates, devoted as he was to wine, dice, and women; but to plan the overthrow of Caesar, and not to fear the ability, power, and good fortune of the man whose very name robbed the kings of Parthia and India of their sleep, betokened an extraordinary spirit, and one which fear could never induce to remit its lofty purposes. Therefore Dion had only to be seen in Sicily, and many thousands joined him in attacking Dionysius; whereas the fame of Caesar, even after he had fallen, supported his friends, and his name raised the helpless boy who adopted it to be at once the foremost Roman, and he wore it as a charm against the power and hatred of Antony.

But should it be objected that Dion cast out the tyrant only after great struggles, while Brutus slew Caesar unarmed and unguarded, this very circumstance was a result of the highest ability and generalship, namely, that a man enveloped in such great power should be taken unarmed and unguarded. For not on a sudden, nor alone, or with a few helpers only, did he fall upon him and slay him, nay, his plan was long in forming, and his attack was made with many helpers, not one of whom proved false to him. For either he chose out at once the best men, or his choice of them before others, and his confidence in them, made them good. But Dion either chose unwisely and entrusted himself to bad men,

ἐποίησεν ἐκ χρηστῶν πονηρούς, οὐδέτερον παθεῖν ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ προσῆκεν. ἐπιτιμᾷ δὲ καὶ Πλάτων αὐτῷ τοιούτους ἑλομένῳ φίλους, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπώλετο.

V. Καὶ Δίωνος μὲν τιμωρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη πεσόντος· ἀλλὰ Βροῦτον καὶ τῶν πολεμίων Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἔθαψεν ἐνδόξως, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐτήρησεν. ἕστηκε δὲ χαλκοῦς ἀνδριὰς ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίας. τοῦτον ὕστερον ἰδὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰκονικὸν ὄντα καὶ χαριέντως εἰργασμένον παρῆλθεν· εἶτ' ἐπιστὰς μετὰ μικρὸν ἀκροωμένων πολλῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκάλει, φάσκων ἔκσπονδον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰληφέναι
2 πολέμιον ἔχουσαν παρ' αὐτῇ. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ὡς εἰκός, ἠρνοῦντο, καὶ τίνα λέγοι διαποροῦντες εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀπέβλεψαν. ὡς δ' ἐπιστρέψας ὁ Καῖσαρ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον, "Ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗτος," ἔφη, "πολέμιος ὢν ἡμέτερος ἐνταῦθα ἕστηκεν;" ἔτι μᾶλλον καταπλαγέντες ἐσιώπησαν. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας ἐπῄνεσέ τε τοὺς Γαλάτας ὡς τοῖς φίλοις καὶ παρὰ τὰς τύχας βεβαίους ὄντας, καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἐκέλευσε.

or else treated the men of his choice so as to turn them from good to bad, neither of which mistakes a prudent man ought to make. And in fact Plato censures him for choosing such friends as proved his ruin.

V. Further, no one arose to avenge Dion's death; but in the case of Brutus, Antony, an enemy, gave him illustrious burial, and Octavius, an enemy, actually took care to preserve his honours. For a bronze statue of him stood in Mediolanum in Cisalpine Gaul. This statue, at a later time, Octavius noticed as he passed by, for it was a good likeness and an artistic piece of work; then stopping, after a little, in the hearing of many he summoned the magistrates and declared that he had caught their city violating its treaty and harbouring an enemy of his. At first, then, as was natural, they denied it, and looked at one another in perplexity, not knowing what he meant. Then Octavius, turning to the statue and knitting his brows, said: "Well, is not this an enemy of mine who stands here?" At this, the magistrates were still more dumbfounded and held their peace. But Octavius, with a smile, praised the Gauls because they were true to their friends even in adversity, and gave orders that the statue should remain where it was.

TIMOLEON

8 2

ΤΙΜΟΛΕΩΝ

Ἐμοὶ[1] τῆς τῶν βίων ἅψασθαι μὲν γραφῆς 235
συνέβη δι' ἑτέρους, ἐπιμένειν δὲ καὶ φιλοχωρεῖν
ἤδη καὶ δι' ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ
πειρώμενον ἁμῶς γέ πως κοσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν
πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον. οὐδὲν γὰρ
ἀλλ' ἢ συνδιαιτήσει καὶ συμβιώσει τὸ γινόμενον
ἔοικεν, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐπιξενούμενον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν
ἐν μέρει διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ παρα-
λαμβάνοντες ἀναθεωρῶμεν "ὅσσος ἔην οἷός τε,"
τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα πρὸς γνῶσιν ἀπὸ
τῶν πράξεων λαμβάνοντες.

2 Φεῦ, φεῦ· τί τούτου χάρμα μεῖζον ἂν λάβοις,

καὶ[2] πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἠθῶν ἐνεργότερον; Δημό-
κριτος μὲν γὰρ εὔχεσθαί φησι δεῖν ὅπως εὐλόγ-
χων εἰδώλων τυγχάνωμεν καὶ τὰ σύμφυλα καὶ τὰ
χρηστὰ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἢ τὰ
φαῦλα καὶ τὰ σκαιὰ συμφέρηται, λόγον οὔτ'
ἀληθῆ καὶ πρὸς ἀπεράντους ἐκφέροντα δεισιδαι-
3 μονίας εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καταβάλλων· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ
περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν διατριβῇ καὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῇ

[1] ἐμοὶ with Bekker, after Stephanus and Reiske: ἐμοὶ μέν.
[2] καὶ supplied by Sintenis, after Schaefer; Bekker supplies ἤ.

TIMOLEON

I BEGAN the writing of my "Lives" for the sake of others, but I find that I am continuing the work and delighting in it now for my own sake also, using history as a mirror and endeavouring in a manner to fashion and adorn my life in conformity with the virtues therein depicted. For the result is like nothing else than daily living and associating together, when I receive and welcome each subject of my history in turn as my guest, so to speak, and observe carefully "how large he was and of what mien,"[1] and select from his career what is most important and most beautiful to know.

"And oh! what greater joy than this canst thou
 obtain,"[2]

and more efficacious for moral improvement? Democritus says we ought to pray that we may be visited by phantoms which are propitious, and that from out the circumambient air such only may encounter us as are agreeable to our natures and good, rather than those which are perverse and bad, thereby intruding into philosophy a doctrine which is not true, and which leads astray into boundless superstitions. But in my own case, the study of history and the familiarity with it which my writing produces,

[1] As Priam admired Achilles, *Iliad*, xxiv. 630.

[2] An iambic trimeter from the *Tympanistae* of Sophocles (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*², p. 270).

συνηθείᾳ παρασκευάζομεν ἑαυτούς, τὰς τῶν ἀρί-
στων καὶ δοκιμωτάτων μνήμας ὑποδεχομένους
ἀεὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εἴ τι φαῦλον ἢ κακόηθες ἢ ἀγεν-
νὲς αἱ τῶν συνόντων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁμιλίαι προσ-
βάλλουσιν, ἐκκρούειν καὶ διωθεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὰ
κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἵλεω καὶ πρᾳεῖαν
4 ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν διάνοιαν. ὧν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
προκεχειρίσμεθά σοι τὸν Τιμολέοντος τοῦ Κοριν-
θίου καὶ τὸν Αἰμιλίου Παύλου βίον, ἀνδρῶν οὐ
μόνον ταῖς αἱρέσεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς τύχαις ἀγα-
θαῖς ὁμοίως κεχρημένων ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ
διαμφισβήτησιν παρεξόντων πότερον εὐποτμίᾳ
μᾶλλον ἢ φρονήσει τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πεπραγμένων
κατώρθωσαν.

I. Τὰ μὲν Συρακουσίων πράγματα πρὸ τῆς 236
Τιμολέοντος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποστολῆς οὕτως εἶχεν.
ἐπεὶ Δίων μὲν ἐξελάσας Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον
εὐθὺς ἀνῃρέθη δόλῳ καὶ διέστησαν οἱ σὺν Δίωνι
Συρακουσίους ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἄλλον
ἐξ ἄλλου μεταβάλλουσα συνεχῶς τύραννον ὑπὸ
πλήθους κακῶν μικρὸν ἀπέλειπεν ἔρημος εἶναι,
τῆς δ' ἄλλης Σικελίας ἡ μὲν ἀνάστατος καὶ ἄπολις
2 παντάπασιν ἤδη διὰ τοὺς πολέμους ὑπῆρχεν, αἱ
δὲ πλεῖσται πόλεις ὑπὸ βαρβάρων μιγάδων καὶ
στρατιωτῶν ἀμίσθων κατείχοντο, ῥᾳδίως προσιε-
μένων τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν δυναστειῶν, Διονύσιος
ἔτει δεκάτῳ ξένους συναγαγὼν καὶ τὸν τότε κρα-
τοῦντα τῶν Συρακουσίων Νυσαῖον ἐξελάσας,

enables me, since I always cherish in my soul the records of the noblest and most estimable characters, to repel and put far from me whatever base, malicious, or ignoble suggestion my enforced associations may intrude upon me, calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts away from them to the fairest of my examples. Among these were Timoleon the Corinthian and Aemilius Paulus, whose Lives I have now undertaken to lay before my readers; the men were alike not only in the good principles which they adopted, but also in the good fortune which they enjoyed in their conduct of affairs, and they will make it hard for my readers to decide whether the greatest of their successful achievements were due to their good fortune or their wisdom.[1]

I. The state of affairs in Syracuse, before the expedition of Timoleon into Sicily, was as follows. After Dion had driven out Dionysius the tyrant, he was at once treacherously slain,[2] and those who had helped him to free Syracuse were divided among themselves. The city, therefore, was continually exchanging one tyrant for another, and owing to a multitude of ills was almost abandoned, while as for the rest of Sicily, part of it was ruined and already wholly without inhabitants by reason of the wars, and most of the cities were occupied by Barbarians of mixed races and soldiers out of employment, who readily consented to the successive changes in the despotic power. At last Dionysius, in the tenth year of his exile,[3] collected mercenaries, drove out Nisaeus, who was at that time master of Syracuse,

[1] In the MSS. this Introduction stands as the first chapter of the *Aemilius Paulus*.

[2] See the *Dion*, chapter lvii. This was in 354 B.C.

[3] 346 B.C.

ἀνέλαβε τὰ πράγματα πάλιν καὶ καθειστήκει τύραννος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, παραλόγως μὲν ὑπὸ μικρᾶς δυνάμεως τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πώποτε τυραννίδων ἀπολέσας, παραλογώτερον δ' αὖθις ἐκ φυγάδος καὶ ταπεινοῦ τῶν ἐκβαλόντων κύριος γενόμενος.
3 οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐδούλευον οὔτ' ἄλλως ἐπιεικεῖ τυράννῳ καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἀπηγριωμένῳ τὴν ψυχήν, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι καὶ γνωριμώτατοι πρὸς Ἱκέτην τραπέντες τὸν δυναστεύοντα τῶν Λεοντίνων ἐπέτρεψαν αὑτοὺς ἐκείνῳ καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο τοῦ πολέμου, βελτίω μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντα τῶν ὁμολογουμένως τυράννων, ἑτέραν δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀποστροφήν, καὶ πιστεύσαντες Συρακουσίῳ τὸ γένος ὄντι καὶ κεκτημένῳ δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον πρὸς τὸν τύραννον.

II. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καρχηδονίων στόλῳ μεγάλῳ παραγενομένων εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπαιωρουμένων φοβηθέντες οἱ Σικελιῶται πρεσβείαν ἐβούλοντο πέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ παρὰ Κορινθίων βοήθειαν αἰτεῖν, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν οὐδ' ἀφ' ὧν ἤδη πολλάκις εὐεργέτηντο πιστεύοντες ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθόλου τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶντες φιλελεύθερον καὶ μισοτύραννον οὖσαν ἀεί, καὶ τῶν πολέμων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ μεγίστους πεπολεμηκυῖαν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας καὶ πλεονεξίας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευ-
2 θερίας. ὁ δ' Ἱκέτης, ἅτε δὴ τῆς στρατηγίας ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τυραννίδα πεποιημένος, οὐ τὴν Συρακουσίων ἐλευθερίαν, κρύφα μὲν ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διείλεκτο, φανερῶς δὲ τοὺς

recovered the power again, and established himself as tyrant anew; he had been unaccountably deprived by a small force of the greatest tyranny that ever was, and now more unaccountably still he had become, from a lowly exile, master of those who drove him forth. Accordingly, those of the Syracusans who remained in the city were the slaves of a tyrant who at all times was unreasonable, and whose spirit at this time was rendered altogether savage by misfortunes, but the best and most distinguished of them had recourse to Hicetas the ruler of Leontini, put themselves under his protection, and chose him their general for the war; not that he was better than any acknowledged tyrant, but because they had no other refuge, and felt confidence in one who was a Syracusan by birth and possessed a force that was able to cope with that of Dionysius.

II. Meanwhile the Carthaginians came with a large armament to Sicily and were watching their opportunity, and the Sicilian Greeks, in their fright, wished to send an embassy to Greece and ask for assistance from the Corinthians, not only because they trusted them on account of their kinship[1] and in consequence of the many benefits they had already received from them, but also in general because they saw that the city was always a lover of freedom and a hater of tyrants, and had waged the most and greatest of her wars, not for supremacy and aggrandizement, but for the liberty of the Greeks. Hicetas, however, since he had made a tyranny for himself, and not the freedom of Syracuse, his sole object in taking the field, had already held secret conferences with the Carthaginians; yet openly he commended the plan of

[1] Syracuse was founded by Corinthians in 735 B.C.

Συρακουσίους ἐπῄνει καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς Πελο-
πόννησον συνεξέπεμψεν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐλθεῖν
συμμαχίαν ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ' ἐάν, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οἱ
Κορίνθιοι διὰ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ταραχὰς καὶ ἀσχο-
λίας ἀπείπωσι τὴν βοήθειαν, ἐλπίζων ῥᾷον ἐπὶ
τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὰ πράγματα μετάξειν καὶ
χρήσεσθαι συμμάχοις καὶ συναγωνισταῖς ἐκείνοις
ἐπὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἢ κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐξηλέγχθη.

III. Τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων παραγενομένων, οἱ Κο-
ρίνθιοι, κήδεσθαι μὲν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀποικίδων πόλεων
καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Συρακουσίων εἰωθότες, οὐδενὸς 237
δ' αὐτοὺς τότε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν κατὰ τύχην παρεν-
οχλοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ σχολῇ διάγοντες,
ἐψηφίσαντο προθύμως βοηθεῖν. ζητουμένου δὲ
στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων γραφόντων καὶ προ-
βαλλομένων τοὺς εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει σπου-
δάζοντας, εἷς ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀναστὰς ὠνόμασε
Τιμολέοντα τὸν Τιμοδήμου, μήτε προσιόντα τοῖς
κοινοῖς ἔτι μήτ' ἐλπίδος τοιαύτης γενόμενον ἢ
2 προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ τινος, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς νοῦν
ἐμβαλόντος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοσαύτη καὶ περὶ τὴν
αἵρεσιν εὐθὺς ἔλαμψε τύχης εὐμένεια καὶ ταῖς
ἄλλαις πράξεσιν ἐπηκολούθησε χάρις ἐπικοσ-
μοῦσα τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν γονέων ἐπιφανῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει,
Τιμοδήμου καὶ Δημαρίστης, φιλόπατρις δὲ καὶ
πρᾷος διαφερόντως ὅσα μὴ σφόδρα μισοτύραννος
3 εἶναι καὶ μισοπόνηρος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις οὕτω

the Syracusans and joined them in sending the embassy to Peloponnesus, not because he wished that an allied force should come from there, but because he hoped that if, as was likely, the Corinthians should refuse their assistance because the disturbed condition of Greece kept them busy at home, he might more easily turn the control of affairs into the hands of the Carthaginians and use these invaders as allies and helpers in a struggle against the Syracusans or against Dionysius. This, then, was fully proved a little later.

III. But when the embassy arrived, the Corinthians, since they were wont to be ever solicitous for their colonial cities and for Syracuse in particular, and since by good fortune there was nothing in Greece at that time to disturb them, but they were enjoying peace and leisure, voted readily to give the assistance desired. And while they were seeking for a commander, and the magistrates were writing down the names of those in the city who were eager for the honour and proposing them for election, one of the common people rose to his feet and nominated Timoleon the son of Timodemus, although he no longer took part in public business, and had no expectation or purpose of doing so; but some god, as it would seem, put it into the man's mind to nominate him, such was the kindliness of Fortune that shone forth at once upon his election, and such the grace that attended his subsequent actions and adorned his virtues.

He was born of parents who were illustrious in the city, Timodemus and Demariste, and he was a lover of his country and exceedingly gentle, except as he was a hater of tyrants and of base men. As

καλῶς καὶ ὁμαλῶς ἐκέκρατο τὴν φύσιν ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν ἐν νέῳ σύνεσιν, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ γηρῶντος ἀνδρείαν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι ταῖς πράξεσιν. ἀδελφὸν δ' εἶχε Τιμοφάνην, πρεσβύτερον, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσόμοιον, ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτον καὶ διεφθαρμένον ἔρωτι μοναρχίας ὑπὸ φίλων φαύλων καὶ ξένων στρατιωτικῶν ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, ἔχειν τι δοκοῦντα ῥαγδαῖον ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον.
4 ᾧ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας προσαγόμενος ὡς ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ δραστήριος ἐφ' ἡγεμονιῶν ἐτάττετο. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα Τιμολέων αὐτῷ συνήργει, τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα παντάπασιν ἀποκρύπτων ἢ μικρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιῶν, ἃ δ' ἡ φύσις ἐξέφερεν ἀστεῖα κατακοσμῶν καὶ συναύξων.

IV. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Κλεωναίους μάχῃ τῶν Κορινθίων ὁ μὲν Τιμολέων ἔτυχεν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλίταις τεταγμένος, τὸν δὲ Τιμοφάνην τῶν ἱππέων ἡγούμενον καταλαμβάνει κίνδυνος ὀξύς. ὁ γὰρ ἵππος αὐτὸν ἀπεσείσατο πληγῇ περιπεσὼν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐσκορπίσθησαν φοβηθέντες, οἱ δὲ παραμείναντες ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀντεῖ-
2 χον. ὡς οὖν ὁ Τιμολέων κατεῖδε τὸ συμβεβηκός, δρόμῳ προσβοηθήσας καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοῦ Τιμοφάνους κειμένου προθέμενος, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀκοντίσματα, πολλὰς δὲ πληγὰς ἐκ χειρὸς ἀναδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, μόλις ἐώσατο τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διέσωσε τὸν ἀδελφόν.

Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεδιότες μὴ πάθοιεν οἷα καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποβαλόντες τὴν πόλιν, ἐψηφίσαντο τρέφειν ξένους τετρα-

a soldier his nature was so well and evenly attempered that great sagacity was manifested in the exploits of his youth, and no less bravery in those of his old age. He had a brother Timophanes, older than he, and not at all like him, but headstrong and filled with a ruinous passion for absolute power by worthless friends and foreign military adventurers who were ever about him, and having the reputation of being rather impetuous and fond of danger in military service. Therefore he won followers among the citizens and as an efficient warrior was given posts of high command. And Timoleon aided him in obtaining these, trying to conceal his mistakes altogether or to make them seem trifling, and embellishing and enhancing his good natural qualities.

IV. In the battle fought by the Corinthians against the Argives and Cleonaeans,[1] Timoleon was stationed among the men-at-arms, and Timophanes, who commanded the cavalry, was overtaken by extreme peril. For his horse was wounded and threw him in among the enemy, and of his comrades, some scattered in panic flight, while the few who remained fought against great numbers and were with difficulty holding their ground. Accordingly, when Timoleon saw what had happened, he came running to the help of Timophanes and held his shield over him as he lay on the ground, and after receiving many javelins and many hand to hand blows upon his person and his armour, at last succeeded in repulsing the enemy and saving his brother.

After this, the Corinthians, fearing lest they should suffer a second loss of their city through the treachery of their allies,[2] voted to maintain four hundred mer-

[1] Perhaps between 368 and 366 B.C.

[2] As they had at the hands of the Argives in 393 B.C.

κοσίους καὶ τούτων ἄρχοντα Τιμοφάνην κατέστη-
3 σαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ὑπεριδὼν εὐθὺς ἐπέραινεν ἐξ ὧν ποιήσεται τὴν πόλιν ὑφ' αὑτῷ, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀνελὼν ἀκρίτους τῶν πρώτων πολιτῶν ἀνέδειξεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τύραννον, βαρέως φέρων ὁ Τιμολέων, καὶ συμφορὰν ποιούμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκείνου κακίαν, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀφέντα τὴν μανίαν καὶ δυστυχίαν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκείνης ζητεῖν τινα τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἐπανόρθωσιν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας,
4 ἀπωσαμένου δ' ἐκείνου καὶ καταφρονήσαντος, οὕτω παραλαβὼν τῶν μὲν οἰκείων Αἰσχύλον, ἀδελφὸν ὄντα τῆς Τιμοφάνους γυναικός, τῶν δὲ φίλων τὸν μάντιν ὃν Σάτυρον μὲν Θεόπομπος, Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος Ὀρθαγόραν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας αὖθις ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν· καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν οἱ τρεῖς καθικέτευον ἀλλὰ νῦν γε χρησάμενον λογισμῷ
5 μεταβαλέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Τιμοφάνους πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν καταγελῶντος, ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκφερομένου καὶ χαλεπαίνοντος, ὁ μὲν Τιμολέων ἀποχωρήσας μικρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ συγκαλυψάμενος εἱστήκει δακρύων, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι ταχὺ διαφθείρουσιν αὐτόν.

V. Τῆς δὲ πράξεως διαβοηθείσης οἱ μὲν κρά- 238
τιστοι τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπῄνουν τὴν μισοπονηρίαν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ φιλοίκειος ὅμως τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον προετίμησε τοῦ συμ-

cenaries, and put Timophanes in command of them; but he, without regard for honour and justice, at once took measures to bring the city under his own power, and after putting to death without a trial great numbers of the leading citizens, declared himself tyrant. At this, Timoleon was greatly distressed, and considering his brother's baseness to be his own misfortune, he attempted to reason with him and exhort him to renounce that unfortunate and mad ambition of his and seek to make some amends for his transgressions against his fellow citizens. But when his brother rejected his appeals with scorn, he took his kinsman Aeschylus, who was a brother of the wife of Timophanes, and his friend the seer whose name, according to Theopompus, was Satyrus, but according to Ephorus and Timaeus, Orthagoras, and after waiting a few days went up again to his brother; and the three, surrounding him, besought him even now to listen to reason and change his mind. But Timophanes first mocked them, and then lost his temper and was violent, whereupon Timoleon withdrew a little space from him and stood weeping with muffled head, while the other two, drawing their swords, speedily despatched him.[1]

V. The deed having been noised abroad, the most influential Corinthians applauded Timoleon for his hatred of baseness and greatness of soul, in that, although a kindly man and fond of his family, he had nevertheless set his country before his family, and honour and justice before expediency; for when

[1] Diodorus (xvi. 65, 4) says that Timoleon slew his brother with his own hand in the market place; Nepos (*Timoleon*, i. 4) supports Plutarch's account, though with differing details.

φέροντος, ἀριστεύοντα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος διασώσας τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐπιβουλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτῇ
2 καὶ καταδουλωσάμενον ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι ζῆν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας ἀποβλέπειν εἰωθότες τῷ μὲν θανάτῳ τοῦ τυράννου προσεποιοῦντο χαίρειν, τὸν δὲ Τιμολέοντα λοιδοροῦντες ὡς ἀσεβὲς ἐξειργασμένον καὶ μυσῶδες ἔργον εἰς ἀθυμίαν περιέστησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα δυσφορεῖν πυθόμενος καὶ φωνάς τε δεινὰς καὶ κατάρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρᾶσθαι φρικώδεις ἐβάδιζε παραμυθησόμενος, ἡ δὲ προσιδεῖν
3 οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέκλεισε, τότε δὴ παντάπασι περίλυπος γενόμενος καὶ συνταραχθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς διαφθερῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τροφῆς, τῶν δὲ φίλων οὐ περιϊδόντων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν δέησιν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην προσενεγκαμένων ἔγνω ζῆν καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἐκ μέσου γενόμενος· καὶ πολιτείαν μὲν ἅπασαν ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πρώτους χρόνους οὐδὲ κατιὼν εἰς πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀδημονῶν καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις τῶν ἀγρῶν διέτριβεν.

VI. Οὕτως αἱ κρίσεις, ἂν μὴ βεβαιότητα καὶ ῥώμην ἐκ λόγου καὶ φιλοσοφίας προσλάβωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις, σείονται καὶ παραφέρονται ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἐπαίνων καὶ ψόγων, ἐκκρουόμεναι τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν. δεῖ γὰρ οὐ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν πρᾶξιν καλὴν εἶναι καὶ δικαίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἀφ' ἧς πράττεται,
2 μόνιμον καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον, ἵνα πράττωμεν δοκιμάσαντες, μηδ' ὥσπερ οἱ λίχνοι τὰ πλήσμια τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ὀξυτάτῃ διώκοντες ἐπιθυμίᾳ τάχιστα

his brother was fighting valiantly for his country, Timoleon had saved his life, but after he had plotted against her and enslaved her, Timoleon had slain him. However, those who were unable to live in a democracy and were accustomed to pay court to men in power, while they pretended to rejoice at the death of the tyrant, still, by their abuse of Timoleon as the perpetrator of an impious and abominable deed, they drove him into despondency. And now he learned that his mother was angry with him and uttered dreadful reproaches and fearful imprecations against him, and went to plead his cause with her; but she could not endure to see his face, and closed her house against him. Then indeed he became altogether a prey to grief and disordered in mind, and determined to starve himself to death; but his friends would not suffer this, and brought all manner of entreaty and constraint to bear upon him, so that he made up his mind to live by himself, apart from the world. So he gave up all public life, and for a long while did not even return to the city, but spent his time wandering in great distress of mind among the most desolate parts of the country.

VI. So true is it that the purposes of men, unless they acquire firmness and strength from reason and philosophy for the activities of life, are unsettled and easily carried away by casual praise and blame, being forced out of their native reckonings. For it would seem that not only our action must be noble and just, but the conviction also from which our action springs must be abiding and unchangeable, in order that we may be satisfied with what we are about to do, and that mere weakness may not make us dejected over actions which have once been accomplished, when

δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐμπλησθέντες, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι συντελεσθείσαις ἀθυμῶμεν δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπομαραινομένης τῆς τοῦ καλοῦ φαντασίας. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡ μετάνοια ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ καλῶς πεπραγμένον, ἡ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ὡρμημένη καὶ λογισμοῦ προαίρεσις οὐδ' ἂν πταίσωσιν αἱ πράξεις
3 μεταβάλλεται. διὸ Φωκίων μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τοῖς ὑπὸ Λεωσθένους πραττομένοις ἐναντιωθείς, ἐπειδὴ κατορθοῦν ἐκεῖνος ἐδόκει καὶ θύοντας ἑώρα καὶ μεγαλαυχουμένους τῇ νίκῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἶπεν ὡς ἐβούλετο ἂν αὐτῷ ταῦτα μὲν πραχθῆναι, βεβουλεῦσθαι δ' ἐκεῖνα· σφοδρότερον δ' Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λοκρός, εἷς ὢν τῶν Πλάτωνος ἑταίρων, αἰτοῦντος μὲν αὐτὸν γυναῖκα Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων, ἥδιον ἂν ἔφη νεκρὰν
4 ἰδεῖν τὴν κόρην ἢ τυράννῳ συνοικοῦσαν, ἀποκτείναντος δὲ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ πυθομένου πρὸς ὕβριν εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔτι γνώμην ἔχοι περὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τῶν θυγατέρων, ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς μὲν γεγενημένοις λυπεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' εἰρημένοις μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴσως μείζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας ἀρετῆς ἐστι.

VII. Τὸ δὲ Τιμολέοντος ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις πάθος, εἴτ' οἶκτος ἦν τοῦ τεθνηκότος εἴτε τῆς μητρὸς αἰδώς, οὕτω κατέκλασε καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ὥστ' εἴκοσι σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διαγενομένων μηδὲ μιᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς μηδὲ πολιτικῆς
2 ἅψασθαι πράξεως. ἀναγορευθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ,

the fair vision of the Good fades away; just as gluttons who devour cloying viands with the keenest appetite are very soon sated and then disgusted with them. For repentance makes even the noble action base; whereas the choice which springs from a wise and understanding calculation does not change, even though its results are unsuccessful. For this reason Phócion the Athenian,[1] after having opposed the activities of Leosthenes, when Leosthenes was thought to be successful and the Athenians were seen sacrificing and exulting over the victory,[2] said he could have wished that the achievement were his own, but was glad that he counselled as he did. And with more force Aristides the Locrian, one of Plato's companions, when Dionysius the Elder asked him for one of his daughters in marriage, said he would be more pleased to see the maid dead than living with a tyrant; and when, after a little while, Dionysius put his children to death and then asked him insultingly whether he was still of the same mind about giving his daughters in marriage, answered that he was afflicted by what had been done, but did not repent him of what had been said. Such utterances as these, then, betoken perhaps a larger and more consummate virtue.

VII. But the grief of Timoleon over what had been done, whether it was due to pity for his dead brother or to reverence for his mother, so shattered and confounded his mental powers that almost twenty years passed without his setting his hand to a single conspicuous or public enterprise. Accordingly, when

[1] See the *Phocion*, xxiii. 4.
[2] Won by the allied Greeks under Leosthenes over Antipater of Macedonia, in 323 B.C. The victory was soon followed by the defeat of the Greeks at Crannon.

καὶ τοῦ δήμου προθύμως δεξαμένου καὶ χειρο-
τονήσαντος, ἀναστὰς Τηλεκλείδης ὁ τότε καὶ
δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ πρωτεύων ἐν τῇ πόλει, παρε-
κάλει τὸν Τιμολέοντα περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀγαθὸν
ἄνδρα εἶναι καὶ γενναῖον. "Ἂν μὲν γάρ," ἔφη,
"καλῶς ἀγωνίσῃ, τύραννον ἀνῃρηκέναι δόξομεν, 239
ἂν δὲ φαύλως, ἀδελφόν."
3 Παρασκευαζομένου δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος τὸν
ἔκπλουν καὶ στρατιώτας συνάγοντος, ἐκομίσθη
γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους παρ' Ἱκέτου
μηνύοντα τὴν μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ προδοσίαν.
ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε, τοῖς
Καρχηδονίοις προσθέμενος ἀναφανδὸν ἔπραττε
μετ' ἐκείνων ὅπως Διονύσιον ἐκβαλὼν Συρακου-
4 σῶν αὐτὸς ἔσται τύραννος. καὶ δεδοικὼς μὴ
πρότερον ἐλθούσης ἐκ Κορίνθου δυνάμεως καὶ
στρατηγοῦ διαφύγωσιν αἱ πράξεις αὐτόν, ἔπεμ-
ψεν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις φράζουσαν ὡς
οὐδὲν δέον πράγματα καὶ δαπάνας ἔχειν αὐτοὺς
πλέοντας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, ἄλλως
τε καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ παρα-
φυλαττομένων ναυσὶ πολλαῖς τὸν στόλον, οὓς
αὐτὸς ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐκείνων βραδυνόντων ποιή-
5 σαιτο συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον. τούτων δὲ
τῶν γραμμάτων ἀναγνωσθέντων, εἰ καί τις ἠπίως
εἶχε πρότερον τῶν Κορινθίων πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν,
τότε πάντας ἡ πρὸς τὸν Ἱκέτην ὀργὴ παρώξυνεν,
ὥστε συγχορηγῆσαι προθύμως τῷ Τιμολέοντι καὶ
συμπαρασκευάσαι τὸν ἔκπλουν.

VIII. Γενομένων δὲ τῶν νεῶν ἑτοίμων, καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις ὧν ἔδει πορισθέντων, αἱ μὲν ἱέρειαι
τῆς Κόρης ὄναρ ἔδοξαν ἰδεῖν τὰς θεὰς πρὸς

he had been nominated general, and the people had readily approved of it and given him their votes, Telecleides, who was at that time the foremost man in the city for reputation and influence, rose up and exhorted Timoleon to be a noble and brave man in his enterprises. "For if," said he, "thou contendest successfully, we shall think of thee as a tyrannicide; but if poorly, as a fratricide."

But while Timoleon was getting ready for his voyage and collecting soldiers, a letter was brought to the Corinthians from Hicetas which disclosed his treacherous change of sides. For as soon as he had sent out the embassy, he openly attached himself to the Carthaginians and acted with them in order to expel Dionysius from Syracuse and become its tyrant himself. And fearing lest his opportunities for action should escape him if a general and an army came from Corinth in advance, he sent a letter to the Corinthians telling them that there was no need of their putting themselves to the trouble and expense of a voyage to Sicily with all its perils, especially since the Carthaginians, with whom their delay had forced him to make an alliance against the tyrant, forbade their expedition and were on the watch for it with a large fleet. When this letter had been read publicly, if any of the Corinthians had before been lukewarm towards the expedition, their wrath against Hicetas now incited them all, so that they eagerly joined in supplying Timoleon and helping him get ready for his voyage.

VIII. When the fleet was ready, and the soldiers provided with what they needed, the priestesses of Persephone fancied they saw in their dreams that goddess and her mother making ready for a journey,

ἀποδημίαν τινὰ στελλομένας καὶ λεγούσας ὡς Τιμολέοντι μέλλουσι συμπλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν. διὸ καὶ τριήρη κατασκευάσαντες ἱερὰν οἱ Κορίνθιοι
2 ταῖν θεαῖν ἐπωνόμασαν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς Δελφοὺς πορευθεὶς ἔθυσε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον αὐτοῦ γίνεται σημεῖον. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν κρεμαμένων ἀναθημάτων ταινία τις ἀπορρυεῖσα καὶ φερομένη, στεφάνους ἔχουσα καὶ Νίκας ἐμπεποικιλμένας, περιέπεσε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος, ὡς δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφανούμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις προπέμπεσθαι.

3 Ναῦς δὲ Κορινθίας μὲν ἔχων ἑπτά, Κερκυραίας δὲ δύο, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην Λευκαδίων προσπαρασχόντων, ἀνήχθη. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ πνεύματι καλῷ χρώμενος ἔδοξεν αἰφνιδίως ῥαγέντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς νεὼς ἐκχέαι πολὺ καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαμπὰς ἀρθεῖσα ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἐμφερὴς καὶ συμπαραθέουσα τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον, ᾗ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπεῖχον οἱ κυβερνῆται, κατέσκηψεν.
4 οἱ δὲ μάντεις τὸ φάσμα τοῖς ὀνείρασι τῶν ἱερειῶν μαρτυρεῖν ἀπεφαίνοντο, καὶ τὰς θεὰς συνεφαπτομένας τῆς στρατείας προφαίνειν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σέλας· εἶναι γὰρ ἱερὰν τῆς Κόρης τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν αὐτόθι μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἀνακαλυπτήριον αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.

IX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὕτω τὸν στόλον ἐθάρρυνε· καὶ σπεύδοντες, ὡς[1] τὸ πέλαγος διαπλέοντες, ἐκομίζοντο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τὰ

[1] After this word, Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, in which other motives for haste were given.

and heard them say that they were going to sail with Timoleon to Sicily. Therefore the Corinthians equipped a sacred trireme besides, and named it after the two goddesses. Furthermore, Timoleon himself journeyed to Delphi and sacrificed to the god, and as he descended into the place of the oracle, he received the following sign. From the votive offerings suspended there a fillet which had crowns and figures of Victory embroidered upon it slipped away and fell directly upon the head of Timoleon, so that it appeared as if he were being crowned by the god and thus sent forth upon his undertaking.

And now, with seven Corinthian ships, and two from Corcyra, and a tenth which the Leucadians furnished, he set sail.[1] And at night, after he had entered the open sea and was enjoying a favouring wind, the heavens seemed to burst open on a sudden above his ship, and to pour forth an abundant and conspicuous fire. From this a torch lifted itself on high, like those which the mystics bear, and running along with them on their course, darted down upon precisely that part of Italy towards which the pilots were steering. The soothsayers declared that the apparition bore witness to the dreams of the priestesses, and that the goddesses were taking part in the expedition and showing forth the light from heaven; for Sicily, they said, was sacred to Persephone, since mythology makes it the scene of her rape; and the island was given to her as a wedding present.

IX. Such, then, were the signs from Heaven which encouraged the expedition; and making haste, since they were crossing the open sea, they skirted the

[1] In 344 B.C.

δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας ἀγγελλόμενα πολλὴν ἀπορίαν τῷ Τιμολέοντι καὶ δυσθυμίαν τοῖς στρα-
2 τιώταις παρεῖχεν. ὁ γὰρ Ἱκέτης μάχῃ νενικηκὼς Διονύσιον καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῶν Συρακουσῶν κατειληφὼς ἐκεῖνον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον συνεσταλμένον αὐτὸς συνεπολιόρκει καὶ συμπεριετείχιζε, Καρχηδονίους δὲ φροντίζειν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιβήσοιτο Τιμολέων Σικελίας, ἀλλ' ἀπωσθέντων ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν διανεμοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν νῆσον. οἱ δὲ πέμπουσιν εἴκοσι τριήρεις εἰς Ῥήγιον, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέπλεον πρεσβευταὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Τιμολέοντα κομίζοντες λόγους τοῖς πραττο-
3 μένοις ὁμοίους. παραγωγαὶ γὰρ εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ προφάσεις ἦσαν ἐπὶ μοχθηροῖς βουλεύμασιν, ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν μέν, εἰ βούλοιτο, Τιμολέοντα σύμβουλον ἥκειν παρ' Ἱκέτην καὶ κοινωνὸν εὖ διαπεπραγμένων ἁπάντων, τὰς δὲ ναῦς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος συνῃρῆσθαι, Καρ- 240
χηδονίων δὲ κωλύειν τὴν διάβασιν καὶ μάχεσθαι
4 πρὸς βιαζομένους ἑτοίμων ὄντων. ὡς οὖν καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοῖς τε πρεσβεύμασι τούτοις ἐνέτυχον καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας οὐ πρόσω ναυλοχοῦντας κατεῖδον, ἤχθοντο μὲν ὑβρισμένοι, καὶ παρίστατο πᾶσιν ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἱκέτην καὶ δέος ὑπὲρ Σικελιωτῶν, οὓς σαφῶς ἑώρων ἆθλα λειπομένους καὶ μισθὸν Ἱκέτῃ μὲν προδοσίας, Καρχηδονίοις δὲ τυραννίδος, ἐδόκει δ' ἀμήχανον ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς διπλασίας ἐφορμούσας καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ μεθ' Ἱκέτου δύναμιν, ᾗ στρατηγήσοντες ἥκοιεν.

coast of Italy. But the tidings from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon and disheartened his soldiers. For Hicetas, after defeating Dionysius in battle and occupying most of the outlying portions of Syracuse, had shut the tyrant up in the acropolis and what was called The Island, where he was himself helping to besiege and wall him in, while he ordered the Carthaginians to see to it that Timoleon should not land in Sicily, but that he and his forces should be repulsed, and that they themselves, at their leisure, should divide the island with one another. So the Carthaginians sent twenty triremes to Rhegium, on board of which were envoys from Hicetas to Timoleon carrying proposals which conformed to his proceedings. For they were specious and misleading suggestions covering base designs, the envoys demanding that Timoleon himself, if he wished, should come to Hicetas as counsellor and partner in all his successes, but that he should send his ships and his soldiers back to Corinth, since, as they claimed, the war was almost finished, and the Carthaginians were ready to prevent their passage and to fight them if they tried to force one. When, therefore, the Corinthians, after putting in at Rhegium, met these envoys, and saw the Carthaginians riding at anchor not far off, they were indignant at the insult put upon them, and were all of them filled with rage at Hicetas and fear for the Sicilian Greeks, who, as they clearly saw, were left to be a prize and reward, to Hicetas on the one hand for his treachery, and to the Carthaginians on the other for making him tyrant. Moreover, it seemed impossible to overcome both the ships of the Barbarians confronting them there with twice their numbers, and the force under Hicetas in Syracuse, where they had come to take command.

X. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Τιμολέων τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐντυχὼν ἐπιεικῶς ἔφη πείθεσθαι μὲν οἷς κελεύουσι (τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ περαίνειν ἀπειθῶν), ἐθέλειν δὲ ταῦτα πόλεως Ἑλληνίδος καὶ φίλης κοινῆς τῆς Ῥηγίνων ἐναντίον ἀκούσας καὶ εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν διαφέρειν, κἀκείνους ἐμμενεῖν βεβαιότερον οἷς ἐπαγγέλλονται περὶ Συρακουσίων δήμῳ μάρτυρι τὰς ὁμολογίας
2 παρακαταθεμένους. ταῦτα δ' ὑπέτεινεν αὐτοῖς ἀπάτην ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τεχνάζων, καὶ συνετέχναζον οἱ τῶν Ῥηγίνων στρατηγοί, πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐν Κορινθίοις τὰ πράγματα τῶν Σικελιωτῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων γειτνίασιν. διὸ συνῆγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, ὡς μὴ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐχρῶντο μήκει λόγων, ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ παραδιδοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς οὐδὲν τέλος,
3 ἀλλὰ διάγοντες ἄλλως τὸν χρόνον, ἕως ἀναχθῶσιν αἱ τῶν Κορινθίων τριήρεις, καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέχοντες ἀνυπόπτως, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος παρόντος καὶ παρέχοντος δόκησιν ὅσον οὔπω πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀνίστασθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν. ὡς δ' ἀπήγγειλέ τις αὐτῷ κρύφα τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τριήρεις ἀνῆχθαι, μίαν δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου περιμένειν ὑπολελειμμένην, διεκδὺς τὸν ὄχλον, ἅμα τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα Ῥηγίνων συνεπικρυπτόντων, καὶ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν

X. However, after Timoleon had met the envoys of Hicetas and the commanders of the Carthaginians, he calmly said that he would obey their commands (for what would he accomplish by refusing?), but he wished that, before he went away, their proposals and his reply should be made in the presence of the people of Rhegium, a Greek city and a friend of both parties; for this would conduce to his own safety, and they, on their part, would abide more firmly by their promises regarding the Syracusans if they made a people witness to the agreements into which they entered. In making this overture to them he was contriving a deceit which should secure his safe passage across the strait, and the leaders of the Rhegians helped him contrive it, since they were all desirous that the affairs of the Sicilian Greeks should be in the hands of the Corinthians, and feared to have the Barbarians as neighbours. Therefore they convened an assembly and closed the gates, in order that the citizens might not engage in any other business; then they came forward and addressed the multitude in lengthy speeches, one handing over to another the same topic and coming to no conclusion, but protracting the time to no apparent purpose, until the Corinthian triremes should have put to sea, and keeping the Carthaginians in the assembly free from all suspicion, since Timoleon also was there and led them to think that he was on the point of rising to address the people. But when some one secretly brought him word that the other triremes had put to sea, and that one only, his own, had been left behind and was waiting for him, he slipped through the crowd unnoticed, with the connivance of the Rhegians about the bema, went down to the sea,

4 ἐξέπλευσε διὰ ταχέων. καὶ κατήχθησαν εἰς
Ταυρομένιον τῆς Σικελίας, ὑποδεχομένου καὶ
καλοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἔτι πάλαι προθύμως Ἀνδρο-
μάχου τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντος καὶ δυναστεύοντος.
οὗτος ἦν πατὴρ Τιμαίου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, καὶ πολὺ
κράτιστος τῶν τότε δυναστευόντων ἐν Σικελίᾳ
γενόμενος τῶν τε ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν ἡγεῖτο νομίμως
καὶ δικαίως, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φανερὸς ἦν
5 ἀεὶ διακείμενος ἀπεχθῶς καὶ ἀλλοτρίως. διὸ καὶ
Τιμολέοντι τότε τὴν πόλιν ὁρμητήριον παρέσχε,
καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἔπεισε συναγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς
Κορινθίοις καὶ συνελευθεροῦν τὴν Σικελίαν.

XI. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦ Τιμο-
λέοντος ἀνηγμένου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλυθείσης
χαλεπῶς φέροντες, ἐν τῷ κατεστρατηγῆσθαι δια-
τριβὴν τοῖς Ῥηγίνοις παρεῖχον, εἰ Φοίνικες ὄντες
οὐκ ἀρέσκοιντο τοῖς δι' ἀπάτης πραττομένοις.
2 πέμπουσι δ' οὖν εἰς τὸ Ταυρομένιον πρεσβευτὴν
ἐπὶ τριήρους, ὃς πολλὰ διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Ἀνδρό-
μαχον, ἐπαχθῶς καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἀνατεινάμενος
εἰ μὴ τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλλει τοὺς Κορινθίους,
τέλος ὑπτίαν τὴν χεῖρα δείξας, εἶτ' αὖθις κατα-
στρέψας ἠπείλησε τοιαύτην οὖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν
τοιαύτην ποιήσειν. γελάσας δ' ὁ Ἀνδρόμαχος
ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, τὴν δὲ χεῖρα νῦν μὲν
ὑπτίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, νῦν δὲ πρηνῆ προτείνας ἐκέ-
λευσεν ἀποπλεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο τὴν ναῦν
ἀντὶ τοιαύτης γενέσθαι τοιαύτην.

3 Ὁ δ' Ἱκέτης πυθόμενος τὴν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος
διάβασιν καὶ φοβηθεὶς μετεπέμψατο πολλὰς
τῶν Καρχηδονίων τριήρεις. ὅτε καὶ παντάπασι 241

and sailed off with all speed. And they put in at Tauromenium in Sicily, whither they had been earnestly invited some time ago, and where they were now kindly received by Andromachus, the master and ruler of the city. Andromachus was father of Timaeus the historian, and after making himself by far the most powerful of the rulers in Sicily at that time, not only led his own citizens in the ways of law and justice, but was also known to be always averse and hostile to tyrants. Therefore at this time also he allowed Timoleon to make the city a base of operations, and persuaded his citizens to join the Corinthians in their struggle to set Sicily free.

XI. But the Carthaginians in Rhegium, after Timoleon had put to sea and the assembly had been dissolved, were indignant, and in their discomfiture afforded amusement to the Rhegians, seeing that, though Phoenicians, they were not pleased with what was effected by deceit. Nevertheless, they sent an envoy aboard a trireme to Tauromenium, who, after a long conversation with Andromachus, in which he menaced him in insolent barbaric fashion if he did not expel the Corinthians as soon as possible, finally showed him his hand with the palm up, and then turning it down, threatened that he would turn his city as completely upside down. Andromachus, however, with a laugh, made no further reply than to stretch out his hand, as the Barbarian had done, now palm up, and now palm down, and then order him to sail off, if he did not wish his ship to be turned upside down in the same fashion.

But Hicetas was afraid when he learned that Timoleon had crossed the strait, and sent for great numbers of the Carthaginian triremes. And now it

συνέβη τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀπογνῶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν, ὁρῶντας τοῦ μὲν λιμένος αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίους κρατοῦντας, τὴν δὲ πόλιν Ἱκέτην ἔχοντα, τῆς δ' ἄκρας κυριεύοντα Διονύσιον, Τιμολέοντα δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ κρασπέδου τινὸς λεπτοῦ τῆς Ταυρομενιτῶν πολίχνης τῇ Σικελίᾳ προσηρτημένον ἐπ' ἐλπίδος[1] ἀσθενοῦς καὶ βραχείας δυνάμεως· χιλίων γὰρ αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τροφῆς τούτοις
4 ἀναγκαίας πλέον οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν. οὐδ' ἐπίστευον αἱ πόλεις διάπλεαι κακῶν οὖσαι καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀπηγριωμέναι τοὺς ἡγουμένους στρατοπέδων, μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Καλλίππου καὶ Φάρακος ἀπιστίαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἀθηναῖος ὤν, ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀμφότεροι δὲ φάσκοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἥκειν καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς μονάρχους, χρυσὸν ἀπέδειξαν[2] τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὰς ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι συμφορὰς καὶ μακαριωτέρους δοκεῖν ἐποίησαν τοὺς καταστρέψαντας ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν ἐπιδόντων τὴν αὐτονομίαν.

XII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐκείνων βελτίονα τὸν Κορίνθιον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, ἀλλὰ ταὐτὰ πάλιν ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς σοφίσματα καὶ δελεάσματα, μετ' ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων ὑποσχέσεων εἰς μεταβολὴν δεσπότου καινοῦ τιθασευομένους, ὑπώπτευον καὶ διεκρούοντο τὰς τῶν Κορινθίων
2 προκλήσεις πλὴν Ἀδρανιτῶν, οἳ πόλιν μικρὰν μέν, ἱερὰν δ' οὖσαν Ἀδρανοῦ, θεοῦ τινος τιμωμένου διαφερόντως ἐν ὅλῃ Σικελίᾳ, κατοικοῦντες ἐστασίασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν Ἱκέτην προσαγόμενοι καὶ Καρχηδονίους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς Τιμολέοντα

[1] ἐπ' ἐλπίδος Bekker has ἀπ' ἐλπίδος, after Coraës.
[2] ἀπέδειξαν Blass, after Hemsterhuis: ἔδειξαν.

was that the Syracusans altogether despaired of their deliverance, seeing their harbour in the power of the Carthaginians, their city in the hands of Hicetas, and their citadel in the possession of Dionysius; while Timoleon had but a hold as it were on the fringe of Sicily in the little city of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and a small force to support him; for apart from a thousand soldiers and provisions barely sufficient for them, he had nothing. Nor did the cities feel confidence in him, over full of ills as they were and embittered against all leaders of armies, particularly by reason of the perfidy of Callippus[1] and Pharax,[2] one of whom was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedaemonian; but both of them, while declaring that they came to secure the freedom of Sicily and wished to overthrow its tyrants, made the calamities of Sicily under her tyrants seem as gold in comparison, and brought her people to think those more to be envied who had perished in slavery than those who had lived to see her independence.

XII. Expecting, therefore, that the Corinthian leader would be no whit better than those who had preceded him, but that the same sophistries and lures were come to them again, and that with fair hopes and kind promises they were to be made docile enough to receive a new master in place of an old one, they all suspected and repulsed the appeals of the Corinthians except the people of Adranum. These dwelt in a city that was small, but sacred to Adranus, a god highly honoured throughout all Sicily, and being at variance with one another, one party invited in Hicetas and the Carthaginians, while the

[1] The false friend of Dion (*Dion*, chapters liv–lvii.).
[2] Cf. the *Dion*, xlviii. 3: xlix. 1 f.

διαπεμπόμενοι. καί πως ἀπ' αὐτομάτου συνέτυχε
σπευδόντων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ἕνα καιρὸν ἀμφοτέροις
3 γενέσθαι τὴν παρουσίαν. ἀλλ' Ἱκέτης μὲν ἧκε
πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἔχων, Τιμολέοντι δὲ
οἱ σύμπαντες ἦσαν οὐ πλείους χιλίων διακοσίων·
οὓς ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ταυρομενίου, σταδίων πρὸς
τὸ Ἀδρανὸν ὄντων τετταράκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων,
τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν οὐ πολὺ μέρος τῆς
ὁδοῦ προέλαβε καὶ κατηυλίσατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
συντόνως ὁδεύσας καὶ χαλεπὰ χωρία διελθὼν
ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας καταφερομένης ἤκουσεν ἄρτι
προσμιγνύναι τὸν Ἱκέτην τῷ πολιχνίῳ καὶ κατα-
4 στρατοπεδεύειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν λοχαγοὶ καὶ ταξίαρχοι
τοὺς πρώτους ἐπέστησαν ὡς ἐμφαγοῦσι καὶ διανα-
παυσαμένοις χρησόμενοι προθυμοτέροις, ὁ δὲ
Τιμολέων ἐπιπορευόμενος ἐδεῖτο ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἄγειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ συνάπτειν τοῖς πο-
λεμίοις ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἄρτι παυο-
μένους ὁδοιπορίας καὶ περὶ σκηνὰς καὶ δεῖπνον
5 ἀσχόλους ὄντας. καὶ λέγων ἅμα ταῦτα, τὴν
ἀσπίδα λαβὼν ἡγεῖτο πρῶτος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ νίκην
πρόδηλον. οἱ δ' εἵποντο τεθαρρηκότες, ἔλαττον ἢ
τριάκοντα σταδίους ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέχοντες.
ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτους διῆλθον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς
ταραττομένοις καὶ φεύγουσιν ὡς πρῶτον ᾔσθοντο
προσιόντας, ὅθεν ἀνῃρέθησαν μὲν οὐ πολλῷ
πλείους τριακοσίων, ἑάλωσαν δὲ δὶς τοσοῦτοι
6 ζῶντες, ἐλήφθη δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δ' Ἀδρανῖ-
ται τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες προσέθεντο τῷ Τιμο-
λέοντι, μετὰ φρίκης καὶ θαύματος ἀπαγγέλλοντες
ὡς ἐνισταμένης τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἱεροὶ τοῦ νεὼ

other sent an invitation to Timoleon. And by some freak of fortune, both generals hastening to answer the summons, both arrived at one and the same time. But Hicetas came with five thousand soldiers, while Timoleon had no more than twelve hundred all told. Taking these with him from Tauromenium, he set out for Adranum, which was three hundred and forty furlongs off. The first day he advanced only a small part of the journey and bivouacked for the night; but on the second day he quickened his pace, and after traversing difficult regions, when day was already declining he heard that Hicetas was just arriving at the little city and pitching his camp. Accordingly, his captains and taxiarchs halted the van-guard, in order to give the men food and rest and so make them more ready to fight; but when Timoleon came up, he begged them not to do this, but to lead on with speed and engage the enemy while they were in disorder, as they were likely to be when just at the end of their march and busy with their tents and supper. And as he thus spoke, he took his shield, put himself at the head, and led the soldiers on as if to certain victory. And they followed, emboldened by his example, being now distant from the enemy less than thirty furlongs. And when they had traversed these too, they fell upon the enemy, who were confounded and took to flight as soon as they perceived them coming up; wherefore not many more than three hundred of them were slain, while twice as many were taken alive, and their camp was captured. Moreover, the people of Adranum threw open their gates and joined Timoleon, reporting to him with terror and amazement that at the beginning of the battle the sacred portals of

πυλῶνες αὐτόματοι διανοιχθεῖεν, ὀφθείη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μὲν δόρυ σειόμενον ἐκ τῆς αἰχμῆς ἄκρας, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ἱδρῶτι πολλῷ ῥεόμενον.

XIII. Ταῦτα δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τὴν τότε νίκην ἐσήμαινε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεις, αἷς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀγὼν ἀρχὴν εὐτυχῆ παρέσχε. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις εὐθὺς ἐπιπρεσβευόμεναι προσετίθεντο τῷ Τιμολέοντι, καὶ Μάμερκος ὁ Κατάνης τύραννος, πολεμιστὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ χρήμασιν ἐρρωμένος, ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς συμμαχίαν.
2 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτὸς Διονύσιος ἀπειρηκὼς ἤδη 242
ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ μικρὸν ἀπολείπων ἐκπολιορκεῖσθαι τοῦ μὲν Ἱκέτου κατεφρόνησεν αἰσχρῶς ἡττημένου, τὸν δὲ Τιμολέοντα θαυμάζων ἔπεμψεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Κορινθίοις παραδιδοὺς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. δεξάμενος δ' ὁ Τιμολέων τὴν ἀνέλπιστον εὐτυχίαν, ἀποστέλλει τοὺς περὶ Εὐκλείδην καὶ Τηλέμαχον, ἄνδρας Κορινθίους, εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ στρατιώτας τετρακοσίους, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντας οὐδὲ φανερῶς, ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν ἐφορμούντων πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ κρύφα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους
3 παρεισπεσόντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται παρέλαβον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ τυραννεῖα μετὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῶν χρησίμων πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· ἵπποι τε γὰρ ἐνῆσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ πᾶσα μηχανημάτων ἰδέα καὶ βελῶν πλῆθος, ὅπλων δ' ἀπέκειντο μυριάδες ἑπτὰ τεθησαυρισμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ, στρατιῶται δὲ δισχίλιοι τῷ Διονυσίῳ παρῆσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος, ὡς τἆλλα, τῷ Τιμολέοντι παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ χρήματα λαβὼν καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐ πολλοὺς ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας τὸν Ἱκέτην.
4 καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος στρατό-

their temple flew open of their own accord, and the spear of the god was seen to be trembling to the tip of its point, while copious sweat ran down his face.

XIII. These prodigies, as it would seem, were a sign not only of the victory which was then won, but also of the achievements succeeding them, to which that struggle afforded a propitious beginning. For cities at once sent envoys to Timoleon and espoused his cause, and particularly Mamercus, the tyrant of Catana, a warlike and wealthy man, presented himself as an ally. And what was most important, Dionysius himself, now grown desperate and almost forced to surrender, despised Hicetas for his shameful defeat, and in admiration of Timoleon sent to him and his Corinthians offering to surrender himself and the citadel to them. Timoleon accepted this unexpected good fortune, and sent Eucleides and Telemachus, men of Corinth, into the acropolis, and with them four hundred soldiers, not all at once, nor openly, for this was impossible when an enemy was blockading the harbour; but they made their way in secretly and in small companies. These soldiers, then, took over the acropolis and the castle of the tyrant, together with his equipment and stores for the war; for there were many horses there, all sorts of engines of war, and a great quantity of missiles, and armour for seventy thousand men had been stored up there for a long time. Dionysius also had with him two thousand soldiers; these, as well as the supplies, he turned over to Timoleon, while he himself, with his treasure and a few of his friends, sailed off without the knowledge of Hicetas. And after he had been conveyed to the

πεδον, τότε πρῶτον ἰδιώτης καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀφθείς,
ἐπὶ μιᾶς νεὼς καὶ χρημάτων ὀλίγων εἰς Κόρινθον
ἀπεστάλη, γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ τραφεὶς ἐν τυραννίδι
τῇ πασῶν ἐπιφανεστάτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ, κατασχὼν
δὲ ταύτην ἔτη δέκα, δώδεκα δ' ἄλλα μετὰ τὴν
Δίωνος στρατείαν ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πολέμοις δια-
φορηθείς, ἃ δ' ἔπραξε τυραννῶν οἷς ἔπαθεν ὑπερ-
5 βαλόμενος. καὶ γὰρ υἱῶν ἐνηλίκων θανάτους καὶ
θυγατέρων καταπορνεύσεις παρθένων ἐπεῖδε, καὶ
τὴν αὐτὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυναῖκα ζῶσαν μὲν εἰς τὸ
σῶμα ταῖς ἀσελγεστάταις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
ἡδοναῖς παρανομηθεῖσαν, βίᾳ δ' ἀποθανοῦσαν
μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, καταποντισθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ πέ-
λαγος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δίωνος ἀκριβῶς
γέγραπται.

XIV. Τοῦ δὲ Διονυσίου καταπλεύσαντος εἰς
Κόρινθον, οὐδεὶς ἦν Ἑλλήνων ὃς οὐχὶ θεάσασθαι
καὶ προσειπεῖν ἐπόθησεν αὐτόν. ἀλλ' οἵ τε χαί-
ροντες ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς διὰ μῖσος ἄσμενοι
συνῆλθον οἷον ἐρριμμένον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πατή-
σοντες, οἵ τε πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν τρεπόμενοι καὶ
συμπαθοῦντες ἐθεῶντο πολλὴν ἐν ἀσθενέσι τοῖς
ἀνθρωπίνοις καὶ προδήλοις τὴν τῶν ἀδήλων αἰ-
2 τιῶν καὶ θείων δύναμιν. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε φύσεως
ὁ τότε καιρὸς οὔτε τέχνης ὅσον ἐκεῖνο τύχης
ἔργον ἐπεδείξατο, τὸν Σικελίας ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν
τύραννον ἐν Κορίνθῳ διατρίβοντα περὶ τὴν ὀψό-
πωλιν ἢ καθήμενον ἐν μυροπωλίῳ, πίνοντα κεκρα-

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[1] There is nothing in the *Dion* to justify this statement. The cruelties described were committed by the revolting people of Locri, to whom Dionysius had made himself odious

camp of Timoleon, where for the first time he was seen as a private person and in humble garb, he was sent off to Corinth with a single ship and a small treasure, having been born and reared in a tyranny which was the greatest and most illustrious of all tyrannies, and having held this for ten years, and then for twelve other years, after the expedition of Dion, having been involved in harassing struggles and wars, and having surpassed in his sufferings all his acts of tyranny. For he lived to see the violent deaths of his grown-up sons and the violation of his maiden daughters, and the shameful abuse of the person of his wife, who was at the same time his sister, and who, while living, was subjected to the most wanton pleasures of his enemies, and after being murdered, together with her children, was cast into the sea. These things, then, have been fully described in my Life of Dion.[1]

XIV. But as for Dionysius, after his arrival at Corinth there was no Greek who did not long to behold and speak to him. But those who rejoiced in his misfortunes were lead by their hatred to come together gladly that they might trample, as it were, upon one who had been cast down by Fortune; while those who regarded rather the reversal of his fortune and sympathised with him, saw strong proof, amid the weakness of things that are human and seen, of the power of causes that are unseen and divine. For that age showed no work either of nature or of art that was comparable to this work of Fortune, namely, the recent tyrant of Sicily in Corinth, whiling his time away at a fishmonger's or sitting in a perfumer's

during his residence there from 356 to 346 B.C. Cf. Athenaeus. p. 541 C E.

μένον ἀπὸ τῶν καπηλείων καὶ διαπληκτιζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τοῖς ἀφ' ὥρας ἐργαζομένοις γυναίοις, τὰς δὲ μουσουργοὺς ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς διδάσκοντα, καὶ περὶ θεατρικῶν ᾀσμάτων ἐρίζειν σπουδάζοντα
3 πρὸς ἐκείνας καὶ περὶ μέλους ἁρμονίας. ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἀλύοντα καὶ φύσει ῥάθυμον ὄντα καὶ φιλακόλαστον ᾤοντο ποιεῖν τὸν Διονύσιον, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ φοβερὸν εἶναι τοῖς Κορινθίοις, μηδ' ὕποπτον ὡς βαρυνόμενον τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ πραγμάτων ἐφιέμενον, ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθαι παρὰ φύσιν, πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν.

XV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοι τινὲς αὐτοῦ μνημονεύονται, δι' ὧν ἐδόκει συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰς Λευκάδα καταχθείς, πόλιν ἀπῳκισμένην ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ὥσπερ τὴν Συρακουσίων, ταὐτὸν ἔφη πεπονθέναι τοῖς ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι γενομένοις τῶν νεανίσκων· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς μὲν ἀδελφοῖς ἱλαρῶς συνδιατρίβουσι, τοὺς δὲ πατέρας αἰσχυνόμενοι φεύγουσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸς αἰδούμενος τὴν μητρόπολιν ἡδέως ἂν αὐτόθι μετ' ἐκείνων κατοι-
2 κεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ ξένου τινὸς ἀγροικό- 243
τερον εἰς τὰς μετὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων διατριβάς, αἷς τυραννῶν ἔχαιρε, χλευάζοντος αὐτόν, καὶ τέλος ἐρωτῶντος τί δὴ τῆς Πλάτωνος ἀπολαύσειε σοφίας, "Οὐδέν," ἔφη, "σοὶ δοκοῦμεν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ὠφελῆσθαι, τύχης μεταβολὴν οὕτω φέροντες;" πρὸς δὲ τὸν μουσικὸν Ἀριστόξενον καί τινας ἄλλους πυνθανομένους ὁπόθεν αὐτῷ καὶ τίς

shop, drinking diluted wine from the taverns and skirmishing in public with common prostitutes, or trying to teach music-girls in their singing, and earnestly contending with them about songs for the stage and melody in hymns. Some thought that Dionysius did these things as an aimless loiterer, and because he was naturally easy-going and fond of license; but others thought that it was in order to be held in contempt and not in fear by the Corinthians, nor under suspicion of being oppressed by the change in his life and of striving after power, that he engaged in these practices and played an unnatural part, making a display of great silliness in the way he amused himself.

XV. However, certain sayings of his are preserved, from which it would appear that he accommodated himself to his present circumstances not ignobly. Once, namely, when he landed at Leucadia,[1] a city which had been colonized by Corinthians, just like Syracuse, he said he had the same feelings as young men who have been guilty of misdemeanours; for just as these pass their time merrily with their brothers, but shun their fathers from a feeling of shame, so he was ashamed to live in their common mother-city, and would gladly dwell there with them. And again, in Corinth, when a stranger somewhat rudely derided him about his associations with philosophers, in which he used to take delight when he was a tyrant, and finally asked him what good Plato's wisdom did him now, "Dost thou think, said he, "that I have had no help from Plato, when I bear my change of fortune as I do?" Further, when Aristoxenus the musician and certain others inquired

[1] On his voyage from Syracuse to Corinth.

3 ἡ πρὸς Πλάτωνα γένοιτο μέμψις, πολλῶν ἔφη κακῶν τὴν τυραννίδα μεστὴν οὖσαν οὐδὲν ἔχειν τηλικοῦτον ἡλίκον τὸ μηδένα τῶν λεγομένων φίλων μετὰ παρρησίας διαλέγεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀποστερηθῆναι τῆς Πλάτωνος εὐνοίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν βουλομένων τις εὐφυῶν εἶναι σκώπτων τὸν Διονύσιον ἐξέσειε τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰσιὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δὴ πρὸς τύραννον, ἀντισκώπτων ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευε τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὅταν ἐξίῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ, μή τι τῶν ἔνδον ἔχων ἀπέλθῃ.
4 Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδόνος παρὰ πότον τινὰ λόγον μετὰ εἰρωνείας ἐμβαλόντος περὶ τῶν μελῶν καὶ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ἃς ὁ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος κατέλιπε, καὶ προσποιουμένου διαπορεῖν ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος ἐσχόλαζεν, οὐ φαύλως ἀπήντησεν ὁ Διονύσιος εἰπών· "Ἐν ᾧ σὺ κἀγὼ καὶ πάντες οἱ μακάριοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι περὶ κώθωνα διατρίβομεν."

5 Πλάτων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπεῖδεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ Διονύσιον, ἀλλ' ἔτυχεν ἤδη τεθνηκώς, ὁ δὲ Σινωπεὺς Διογένης ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ πρῶτον, "Ὡς ἀναξίως," ἔφη, "Διονύσιε, ζῇς." ἐπιστάντος δ' ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος· "Εὖ ποιεῖς, ὦ Διόγενες, συναχθόμενος ἡμῖν ἠτυχηκόσι," "Τί γάρ;" εἶπεν ὁ Διογένης, "οἴει μέ σοι συναλγεῖν, οὐ διαγανακτεῖν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἀνδράποδον ὤν, καὶ τοῖς τυραννείοις, ὥσπερ ὁ πατήρ, ἐπιτήδειος ἐγγηράσας ἀποθανεῖν, ἐνταῦθα παίζων καὶ τρυφῶν διάγεις

what his complaint against Plato was and what its origin, he told them that of the many ills with which tyranny abounded there was none so great as this, that not one of those reputed to be friends speaks frankly with the tyrant; for indeed it was by such friends that he himself had been deprived of Plato's good will. Again, when one of those who wish to be witty, in mockery of Dionysius shook out his robe on coming into his presence,[1] as if into the presence of a tyrant, Dionysius turned the jest upon him by bidding him do so when he went out from his presence, that he might not take anything in the house away with him. And when Philip of Macedon, at a banquet, began to talk in banter about the lyric poems and tragedies which Dionysius the Elder had left behind him, and pretended to wonder when that monarch found time for these compositions, Dionysius not inaptly replied by saying: "When thou and I and all those whom men call happy are busy at the bowl."

Now, Plato did not live to see Dionysius when he was in Corinth, but he was already dead;[2] Diogenes of Sinope, however, on meeting him for the first time, said: "How little thou deservest, Dionysius, thus to live!" Upon this, Dionysius stopped and said: "It is good of thee, O Diogenes, to sympathize with me in my misfortunes." "How is that?" said Diogenes; "Dost thou suppose that I am sympathizing with thee? Nay, I am indignant that such a slave as thou, and one so worthy to have grown old and died in the tyrant's estate, just as thy father did, should be

[1] To show that no weapon was concealed there.

[2] Plato died in 348 B.C.; Dionysius came to Corinth in 343 B.C.

6 μεθ' ἡμῶν;" ὥστε μοι παραβάλλοντι τούτοις τὰς Φιλίστου φωνάς, ἃς ἀφίησι περὶ τῶν Λεπτίνου θυγατέρων ὀλοφυρόμενος, ὡς ἐκ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς τυραννίδος εἰς ταπεινὴν ἀφιγμένων δίαιταν, φαίνεσθαι θρήνους γυναικὸς ἀλαβάστους καὶ πορφύρας καὶ χρυσία ποθούσης.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀλλότρια τῆς τῶν βίων ἀναγραφῆς οὐδὲ ἄχρηστα δόξειν οἰόμεθα μὴ σπεύδουσι μηδὲ ἀσχολουμένοις ἀκροαταῖς.

XVI. Τῆς δὲ Διονυσίου δυστυχίας παραλόγου φανείσης οὐχ ἧττον ἡ Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχία τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἔσχεν. ἐπιβὰς γὰρ Σικελίας ἐν ἡμέραις πεντήκοντα τήν τ' ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Συρακουσῶν παρέλαβε καὶ Διονύσιον εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐξέπεμψεν. ὅθεν ἐπιρρωσθέντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καὶ δια-
2 κοσίους ἱππεῖς, οἳ κομισθέντες ἄχρι Θουρίων τὴν ἐκεῖθεν περαίωσιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων πολλαῖς ναυσὶ κατεχομένης τῆς θαλάττης ἄπορον ὁρῶντες, ὡς ἦν ἀνάγκη καιρὸν περιμένοντας ἀτρεμεῖν αὐτόθι, πρὸς κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀπεχρήσαντο τῇ σχολῇ. Θουρίων γὰρ ἐπὶ Βρεττίους στρατευόντων τὴν πόλιν παραλαβόντες ὥσπερ πατρίδα καθαρῶς καὶ πιστῶς διεφύλαξαν.

3 Ὁ δ' Ἱκέτης τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Συρακουσῶν ἐπολιόρκει καὶ σῖτον ἐκώλυεν εἰσπλεῖν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, Τιμολέοντι δὲ δύο ξένους παρασκευάσας δολοφονήσοντας αὐτὸν ὑπέπεμψεν εἰς Ἀδρανόν, οὔτε ἄλλως περὶ τὸ σῶμα συντεταγμένην

living here with us in mirth and luxury." Wherefore, when I compare with these words the mournful utterances of Philistus about the daughters of Leptines, how from the great blessings of the tyranny they fell to a lowly life, they seem the lamentations of a woman who pines for her alabaster caskets and purple gowns and golden trinkets.

These details, then, will not seem foreign to my biography, I think, nor without usefulness, to readers who are not in haste, and are not occupied with other matters.

XVI. But though the misfortune of Dionysius seemed extraordinary, none the less did the good fortune of Timoleon have something marvellous about it. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily the acropolis of Syracuse was surrendered to him and Dionysius was sent off to Peloponnesus. Stimulated by this success, the Corinthians sent him two thousand men-at-arms and two hundred horsemen. These got as far as Thurii, but seeing that their passage thence was impracticable, since the sea was beset with many Carthaginian ships, they were compelled to remain there quietly and await their opportunity, and therefore turned their leisure to advantage in a most noble action. When the Thurians, namely, went on an expedition against the Bruttians, the Corinthians received their city in charge, and guarded it honestly and faithfully to the end, as though it were their own.

But Hicetas kept the acropolis of Syracuse under siege and prevented the importation of food for the Corinthians there; he also sent to Adranum two foreigners whom he had engaged to assassinate Timoleon; for Timoleon at no time kept a guard in array

ἔχοντι φυλακήν, καὶ τότε παντάπασι διὰ τὸν
θεὸν ἀνειμένως καὶ ἀνυπόπτως σχολάζοντι μετὰ
τῶν Ἀδρανιτῶν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες κατὰ τύχην
πυθόμενοι μέλλοντα θύειν αὐτόν, ἧκον εἰς τὸ
ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱματίοις ἐγχειρίδια κομίζοντες, καὶ
τοῖς περιεστῶσι τὸν βωμὸν ἀναμιχθέντες, ἐγγυ-
4 τέρω κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπεχείρουν. καὶ ὅσον οὔπω 244
παρακελευομένων ἀλλήλοις ἐνάρχεσθαι παίει τις
αὐτῶν τὸν ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξίφει, καὶ
πεσόντος οὔθ' ὁ παίσας ἔμεινεν οὔδ' ὁ μετὰ τοῦ
πληγέντος ἥκων, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μέν, ὥσπερ εἶχε τὸ
ξίφος, φεύγων πρός τινα πέτραν ὑψηλὴν ἀνεπή-
δησεν, ἅτερος δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ λαβόμενος ἄδειαν
ᾐτεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ἐπὶ τῷ πάντα μηνῦ-
σαι. καὶ λαβὼν ἐμήνυσε καθ' αὑτοῦ καὶ κατὰ
τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὡς πεμφθεῖεν ἐκεῖνον ἀποκτεν-
5 οῦντες. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας κατῆ-
γον ἕτεροι, βοῶντα μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνῃρηκέναι
δικαίως τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τεθνηκότος,
ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκτονήκοι πρότερον ἐν Λεοντίνοις.
καὶ μαρτυροῦντας εἶχεν ἐνίους τῶν παρόντων,
θαυμάζοντας ἅμα τῆς τύχης τὴν εὐμηχανίαν, ὡς
δι' ἑτέρων ἕτερα κινοῦσα καὶ συνάγουσα πάντα
πόρρωθεν καὶ συγκαταπλέκουσα τοῖς πλεῖστον
διαφέρειν δοκοῦσι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἄλληλα
κοινὸν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων χρῆται καὶ τέλεσι καὶ
ἀρχαῖς.
6 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπον ἐστεφάνωσαν οἱ Κορίν-

about his person, and at this time in particular, owing to his trust in their god, he was altogether without anxiety or suspicion in his diversions with the people of Adranum. The men who had thus been sent learned, as chance would have it, that he was about to offer a sacrifice, and therefore came into the sacred precinct with daggers under their robes, mingled with those who stood around the altar, and gradually drew nearer their intended victim. And as they were just on the point of exhorting one another to begin their work, somebody smote one of them on the head with a sword and laid him low, whereupon neither he who had struck the blow nor the companion of him who had received it kept his place; but the one, with his sword still in his hand, fled to a lofty rock and sprang upon it, while the other laid hold of the altar and begged immunity from Timoleon on the condition of his revealing everything. And when he had obtained his request, he testified against himself and against his dead comrade that they had been sent to kill Timoleon. Meanwhile others brought down the man who had fled to the rock, who kept crying out that he had done no wrong, but had justly slain the man on behalf of his dead father, who had been murdered by him some time ago in Leontini. Some of the bystanders bore witness also to the truth of his words, and wondered, too, at the dexterity of Fortune, seeing how she makes some things lead up to others, brings all things together from afar, weaves together incidents which seem to be most divergent and to have nothing in common with one another, and so makes use of their reciprocal beginnings and endings.

To this man, then, the Corinthians gave a reward

θιοι δέκα μναῖς, ὅτι τῷ φυλάττοντι δαίμονι τὸν Τιμολέοντα πάθος ἔχρησε δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ παρόντα θυμὸν αὐτῷ πρότερον οὐ καταναλώσεν, ἀλλὰ μετ' αἰτίας ἰδίας πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου σωτηρίαν ἀπὸ τύχης διετήρησεν. ἡ δ' εἰς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν εὐτυχία καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπῆρεν ὁρῶντας ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σὺν θεῷ τιμωρὸν ἥκοντα τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν Τιμολέοντα σέβεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν.

XVII. Ὡς δὲ ταύτης διήμαρτε τῆς πείρας ὁ Ἱκέτης καὶ πρὸς Τιμολέοντα πολλοὺς ἑώρα συνισταμένους, μεμψάμενος αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅτι τηλικαύτης παρούσης τῆς Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεως ὥσπερ αἰσχυνόμενος αὐτῇ κατὰ μικρὰ χρῆται καὶ λάθρα, κλέπτων καὶ παρεισάγων τὴν συμμαχίαν, μετεπέμπετο Μάγωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν
2 μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντός. ὁ δὲ εἰσέπλει φοβερὸς ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καταλαμβάνων τὸν λιμένα, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας ἓξ ἀποβιβάζων καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Συρακουσίων, ὥστε πάντας οἴεσθαι τὴν πάλαι λεγομένην καὶ προσδοκωμένην ἐκβαρβάρωσιν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίαν. οὐδέποτε γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις ὑπῆρξε πρότερον μυρίους πολεμήσασι πολέμους ἐν Σικελίᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς Συρακούσας, ἀλλὰ τότε δεξαμένου τοῦ Ἱκέτου καὶ παραδόντος ἦν ὁρᾶν τὴν πόλιν
3 στρατόπεδον βαρβάρων οὖσαν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Κορινθίων κατέχοντες ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ

of ten minas, because he had put his just resentment at the service of the deity who was guarding Timoleon, and had not at an earlier time expended the wrath which had long been in his heart, but with a personal motive had reserved it, under Fortune's guidance, for the preservation of that general. Moreover, their good fortune in the present crisis raised their hopes for the future also, and they anticipated that men would revere and protect Timoleon, looking upon him as a sacred personage, and one who had come under divine guidance to avenge the wrongs of Sicily.[1]

XVII. But when Hicetas had failed in this attempt and saw that many were now thronging to the support of Timoleon, he found fault with himself because, when so large a force of the Carthaginians was at hand, he was using it in small detachments and secretly, as though he were ashamed of it, bringing in his allied troops like a thief and by stealth; he therefore called in Mago their general together with his whole armament. Thus Mago, with a formidable fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, sailed in and occupied the harbour, disembarking also sixty thousand of his infantry and encamping them in the city of Syracuse, so that all men thought that the barbarization of Sicily, long talked of and expected, had come upon her. For never before in all their countless wars in Sicily had the Carthaginians succeeded in taking Syracuse; but now Hicetas admitted them and handed over to them the city, and men saw that it was a barbarian camp. But those of the Corinthians who held the acropolis were beset with difficulty

[1] The Greek of this sentence is obscure, and has thus far defied emendation.

χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττον, τροφῆς μὲν ἱκανῆς οὐκ ἔτι
παρούσης, ἀλλ' ἐνδεόμενοι διὰ τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι
τοὺς λιμένας, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ μάχαις περὶ τὰ
τείχη καὶ πρὸς πᾶν μηχάνημα καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν
ἰδέαν πολιορκίας μερίζοντες αὑτούς.

XVIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Τιμολέων παρεβοήθει
σῖτον ἐκ Κατάνης μικραῖς ἁλιάσι καὶ λεπτοῖς
ἀκατίοις ἀποστέλλων, ἃ μάλιστα χειμῶνι παρεισ-
έπιπτε διὰ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τριήρων ὑποπορευό-
μενα, πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα καὶ τὸν σάλον ἐκείνων
διϊσταμένων. ἃ δὴ συνορῶντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Μά-
γωνα καὶ τὸν Ἱκέτην ἐβούλοντο τὴν Κατάνην
ἑλεῖν, ἐξ ἧς εἰσέπλει[1] τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς πολιορ-
κουμένοις· καὶ λαβόντες τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν μαχι-
2 μωτάτην ἐξέπλευσαν ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν. ὁ δὲ
Κορίνθιος Νέων (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ἄρχων τῶν πολιορ-
κουμένων) κατιδὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας τοὺς ὑπολε-
λειμμένους τῶν πολεμίων ἀργῶς καὶ ἀμελῶς
φυλάττοντας ἐξαίφνης ἐπέπεσε διεσπαρμένοις
αὐτοῖς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνελών, τοὺς δὲ τρεψάμενος,
ἐκράτησε καὶ κατέσχε τὴν λεγομένην Ἀχραδινήν, 245
ὃ κράτιστον ἐδόκει καὶ ἀθραυστότατον ὑπάρχειν
τῆς Συρακουσίων μέρος πόλεως, τρόπον τινὰ συγ-
κειμένης καὶ συνηρμοσμένης ἐκ πλειόνων πόλεων.
3 εὐπορήσας δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀφῆκε
τὸν τόπον, οὐδ' ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν,
ἀλλὰ φραξάμενος τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς
καὶ συνάψας τοῖς ἐρύμασι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
διεφύλαττε. τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάγωνα καὶ τὸν
Ἱκέτην ἐγγὺς ἤδη τῆς Κατάνης ὄντας ἱππεὺς ἐκ
Συρακουσῶν καταλαβὼν ἀπήγγειλε τὴν ἅλωσιν

[1] εἰσέπλει Holden's conjecture: ἔπλει.

and danger; for they no longer had sufficient food, but suffered lack because the harbours were blockaded; and they were forever dividing up their forces in skirmishes and battles around the walls, and in repelling all sorts of engines and every species of siege warfare.

XVIII. However, Timoleon came to their aid by sending them grain from Catana in small fishing boats and light skiffs; these would make their way in, especially in stormy weather, by stealing along through the barbarian triremes, which lay at wide intervals from one another because of the roughness of the sea. This soon came to the notice of Mago and Hicetas, who therefore determined to take Catana, from which provisions came in by sea to the besieged; so taking with them the best of their fighting men, they sailed forth from Syracuse. But Neon the Corinthian (for he it was who commanded the besieged), observing from the citadel that the enemy who had been left behind were keeping an easy and careless watch, fell suddenly upon them as they were scattered apart; some he slew, others he put to flight, and then mastered and took possession of the quarter called Achradina. This seems to have been the strongest and least vulnerable part of the city of Syracuse, which was, in a manner, an assemblage and union of several cities. Having thus supplied himself with grain and money, he did not give up the place, nor did he go back again to the citadel, but fenced in the circumference of Achradina, united it by his fortifications with the acropolis, and guarded both. Mago and Hicetas were already near Catana, when a horseman from Syracuse overtook them and

τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς. καὶ συνταραχθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ ταχέων, οὔτε λαβόντες ἐφ᾽ ἣν ἐξῆλθον οὔτε φυλάξαντες ἣν εἶχον.

XIX. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔτι τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ δίδωσί τινα πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀμφισβήτησιν· τὸ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενόμενον παντάπασιν ἔοικε συμβῆναι κατ᾽ εὐτυχίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Θουρίοις διατρίβοντες στρατιῶται τῶν Κορινθίων ἅμα μὲν δεδιότες τὰς Καρχηδονίων τριήρεις, αἳ παρεφύλαττον αὐτοὺς μετὰ Ἄννωνος, ἅμα δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἐξηγριωμένης ὑπὸ πνεύματος τῆς θαλάττης, πεζῇ διὰ Βρεττίων ὥρμησαν πορεύεσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν πείθοντες, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰς Ῥήγιον κατέβαινον ἔτι πολὺν χειμῶνα τοῦ πελά-
2 γους ἔχοντος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος, ὡς οὐ προσεδόκα τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ μάτην ᾤετο καθῆσθαι, πείσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν νενοηκέναι τι τῶν σοφῶν καὶ πανούργων πρὸς ἀπάτην, στεφανώσασθαι τοὺς ναύτας κελεύσας καὶ κοσμήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀσπίσιν Ἑλληνικαῖς καὶ φοινικίσιν, ἔπλει πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας. καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρώμενος ῥοθίῳ μετὰ κρότου καὶ γέλωτος ἐβόα τοὺς Κορινθίους ἥκειν νενικηκὼς καὶ κεχειρωμένος, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ λαβὼν διαπλέοντας, ὡς δή τινα δυσθυμίαν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρέ-
3 ξων. ἐκείνου δὲ ταῦτα ληροῦντος καὶ φενακίζοντος ἐκ τῶν Βρεττίων καταβεβηκότες οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον, ὡς οὐδεὶς παρεφύλαττε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατεσβεσμένον παραλόγως ἀκύμονα τὸν πόρον

told them of the capture of Achradina. They were confounded by the tidings and went back in haste, having neither taken the city against which they went forth, nor kept the one they had.

XIX. In these successes, then, foresight and valour might still dispute the claims of Fortune; but that which followed them would seem to have been wholly due to good fortune. The Corinthian soldiers, namely, who were tarrying at Thurii, partly because they feared the Carthaginian triremes which were lying in wait for them under Hanno, and partly because a storm of many days' duration had made the sea very rough and savage, set out to travel by land through Bruttium; and partly by persuading, partly by compelling the Barbarians, they made their way down to Rhegium while a great storm was still raging at sea. But the Carthaginian admiral, since he did not expect that the Corinthians would venture forth and thought his remaining there inactive an idle thing, after convincing himself that he had devised something clever and mischievous in the way of deceit, ordered his sailors to crown their heads with garlands, decorated his triremes with purple battle-flags and Greek shields, and sailed for Syracuse. And as he passed the acropolis at a dashing speed amid clapping of hands and laughter, he shouted that he was come from conquering and capturing the Corinthians, whom he had caught at sea as they were trying to cross the strait; supposing, indeed, that he would thus greatly dishearten the besieged. While he was thus babbling and playing the trickster, the Corinthians who had come down from Bruttium to Rhegium, since no one was lying in wait for them and the unexpected cessation of the storm had made

ἰδεῖν καὶ λεῖον παρεῖχε, ταχὺ πληρώσαντες τὰ πορθμεῖα καὶ τὰς ἁλιάδας τὰς παρούσας ἀνήγοντο καὶ διεκομίζοντο πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς καὶ διὰ τοσαύτης γαλήνης ὥστε τοὺς ἵππους παρὰ τὰ πλοῖα παρανηχομένους ἐκ ῥυτήρων ἐφέλκεσθαι.

XX. Περαιωθέντων δὲ πάντων ὁ Τιμολέων δεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τήν τε Μεσσήνην εὐθὺς εἶχε, καὶ συνταξάμενος ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας, οἷς εὐτύχει καὶ κατώρθου μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει πεποιθώς· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πλείους τετρακισχιλίων. ἀγγελλομένης δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου τῷ Μάγωνι θορυβούμενος καὶ δεδοικὼς ἔτι μᾶλλον
2 εἰς ὑποψίαν ἦλθεν ἐκ τοιαύτης προφάσεως. ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν πόλιν τενάγεσι, πολὺ μὲν ἐκ κρηνῶν πότιμον ὕδωρ, πολὺ δ' ἐξ ἑλῶν καὶ ποταμῶν καταρρεόντων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν δεχομένοις, πλῆθος ἐγχέλεων νέμεται, καὶ δαψίλεια τῆς ἄγρας τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀεὶ πάρεστι. ταύτας οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μισθοῦ στρατευόμενοι σχολῆς οὔσης καὶ ἀνοχῶν συνεθήρευον. οἷα δ' Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἔχοντες ἰδίων ἀπεχθειῶν πρόφασιν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις διεκινδύνευον εὐρώστως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς προσφοιτῶντες ἀλλή-
3 λοις διελέγοντο. καὶ τότε κοινὸν περὶ τὴν ἁλιείαν ἔχοντες ἔργον ἐν λόγοις ἦσαν, θαυμάζοντες τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν εὐφυΐαν καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὴν κατασκευήν. καί τις εἶπε τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κορινθίοις στρατευομένων· "Τοσαύτην μέντοι πόλιν[1] τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσούτοις ἐξησκημένην καλοῖς ὑμεῖς Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐκβαρβαρῶσαι προθυμεῖσθε, τοὺς

[1] πόλιν Blass, after Coraës: τὴν πόλιν.

the strait smooth and calm to look upon, speedily manned the ferry-boats and fishing craft which they found at hand, put off, and made their way across to Sicily, with such safety and in so great a calm that their horses also swam along by the side of the boats and were towed by the reins.

XX. When they had all crossed over, Timoleon took them and at once occupied Messana, then, uniting them with his other forces, marched against Syracuse, relying on the good fortune and success that attended his efforts rather than on the strength of his army; for his followers were not more than four thousand in number. But when Mago got tidings of his approach, disturbed and fearful as he was, he was made still more suspicious for the following reason. In the shoals about the city, which receive much fresh water from springs, and much from marshes and rivers emptying into the sea, great numbers of eels live, and there is always an abundance of this catch for anybody. These eels the mercenary soldiers on both sides, when they had leisure or a truce was on, used to hunt together. And since they were Greeks and had no reason for private hatred of one another, while in their battles they risked their lives bravely, in their times of truce they would visit and converse with one another. And so now, as they were busy together with their fishing, they conversed, expressing their admiration of the richness of the sea and the character of the adjacent lands. And one of those who were serving on the Corinthian side said: "Can it really be that you, who are Greeks, are eager to barbarize a city of such great size and furnished with such great advantages, thus settling Cartha-

κακίστους καὶ φονικωτάτους Καρχηδονίους ἐγγυ-
τέρω κατοικίζοντες ἡμῶν, πρὸς οὓς ἔδει πολλὰς
4 εὔχεσθαι Σικελίας προκεῖσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἢ 246
δοκεῖτε τούτους στρατὸν ἀγείραντας ἀπὸ στηλῶν
Ἡρακλείων καὶ τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς ἥκειν θαλάττης
δεῦρο κινδυνεύσοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱκέτου δυναστείας;
ὃς εἰ λογισμὸν εἶχεν ἡγεμόνος, οὐκ ἂν ἐξέβαλλε
τοὺς πατέρας οὐδ' ἐπῆγε τῇ πατρίδι τοὺς πολε-
μίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἐτύγχανεν
ὅσης πρέπει, Κορινθίους καὶ Τιμολέοντα πείσας."
τούτους τοὺς λόγους οἱ μισθοφόροι διεθρόησαν ἐν
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ παρέσχον ὑποψίαν τῷ Μά-
γωνι προδίδοσθαι, χρῄζοντι πάλαι προφάσεως.
5 διὸ καὶ δεομένου τοῦ Ἱκέτου παραμένειν καὶ διδά-
σκοντος ὅσῳ βελτίονές εἰσι τῶν πολεμίων, μᾶλλον
οἰόμενος ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ λείπεσθαι Τιμολέοντος ἢ
πλήθει δυνάμεως ὑπερβάλλειν, ἄρας εὐθὺς ἀπέ-
πλευσεν εἰς Λιβύην, αἰσχρῶς κατ' οὐδένα λογι-
σμὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφεὶς Σικελίαν.

XXI. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παρῆν ὁ Τιμολέων ἐπὶ
μάχην συντεταγμένος. ὡς δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπυνθά-
νοντο καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἑώρων τῶν νεωρίων, γελᾶν
αὐτοῖς ἐπῄει τὴν ἀνανδρίαν τοῦ Μάγωνος, καὶ
περιϊόντες ἐκήρυττον ἐν τῇ πόλει μήνυτρα τῷ
φράσαντι τὸν Καρχηδονίων στόλον ὅπῃ σφᾶς ἀπο-
2 δέδρακεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἱκέτου φιλομαχοῦν-
τος ἔτι καὶ τὴν λαβὴν οὐ προϊεμένου τῆς πόλεως,
ἀλλὰ ἐμπεφυκότος οἷς κατεῖχε μέρεσι καρτεροῖς

ginians, who are the basest and bloodiest of men, nearer to us, when you ought to pray for many Sicilies to lie as a barrier between Greece and them? Or do you suppose that they have collected an army and are come hither from the pillars of Heracles and the Atlantic sea in order to risk their lives in behalf of the dynasty of Hicetas? He, if he reasoned like a true leader, would not be casting out his kindred people, nor would he be leading against his country her natural enemies, but would be enjoying a befitting amount of honour and power, with the consent of Timoleon and the Corinthians." Such speeches as these the mercenaries disseminated in their camp, and made Mago suspicious of treachery, though he had long wanted a pretext for going away. Therefore when Hicetas begged him to remain and tried to show him how much superior they were to their enemies, he thought rather that they were more inferior to Timoleon in bravery and good fortune than they surpassed him in the number of their forces, and weighing anchor at once, sailed off to Libya, thus letting Sicily slip out of his hands disgracefully and for no reason that man could suggest.

XXI. On the day after his departure, Timoleon came up with his forces arrayed for battle. But when they learned of Mago's flight and saw the docks empty of vessels, they could not help laughing at his cowardice, and went about the city proclaiming a reward for any one who told them whither the Carthaginian fleet had fled away from them. However, since Hicetas was still eager for battle and would not let go his hold upon the city, but clung to the parts of it in his possession, which were

οὖσι καὶ δυσπροσμάχοις, διελὼν ὁ Τιμολέων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν ᾗ βιαιότατον ἦν παρὰ τὸ ῥεῖθρον τοῦ Ἀνάπου προσέβαλλεν, ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς ἐκέλευεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ὧν Ἰσίας ἡγεῖτο ὁ Κορίνθιος. τοὺς δὲ τρίτους ἐπῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς Δείναρχος καὶ Δημάρετος, οἱ τὴν ὑστέ-
3 ραν ἀγαγόντες ἐκ Κορίνθου βοήθειαν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν τῆς ἐφόδου γενομένης καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἱκέτην ἀνατραπέντων καὶ φευγόντων, τὸ μὲν ἁλῶναι τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἄκρας καὶ γενέσθαι ταχέως ὑποχείριον ἐκπεσόντων τῶν πολεμίων δίκαιον ἀναθεῖναι τῇ τῶν μαχομένων ἀνδραγαθίᾳ καὶ τῇ δεινότητι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν τινα μηδὲ τρωθῆναι τῶν Κορινθίων ἴδιον ἔργον αὐτῆς ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἐπεδείξατο τύχη, καθάπερ διαμιλλωμένη πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἵνα τῶν ἐπαινουμένων αὐτοῦ τὰ μακαριζό-
4 μενα μᾶλλον οἱ πυνθανόμενοι θαυμάζωσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον Σικελίαν πᾶσαν οὐδ' Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς ἡ φήμη κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἡ Ἑλλὰς διήχει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κατορθώματος, ὥστε τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων πόλιν ἀπιστοῦσαν εἰ διαπέπλευκεν ὁ στόλος, ὁμοῦ καὶ σεσωσμένους καὶ νενικηκότας ἀκούειν τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὕτως εὐρόησαν αἱ πράξεις, καὶ τοσοῦτο τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἔργων τὸ τάχος ἡ τύχη προσέθηκεν.

XXII. Γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ἄκρας κύριος οὐκ ἔπαθε Δίωνι ταὐτὸ πάθος, οὐδ' ἐφείσατο τοῦ τόπου διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον διαβαλοῦσαν, εἶτ' ἀπολέσασαν ὑποψίαν φυλαξάμενος ἐκήρυξε τῶν Συρακουσίων

strong and dangerous to attack, Timoleon divided his forces, he himself attacking along the river Anapus where the struggle was likely to be hottest, and ordering others, under the lead of Isias the Corinthian, to make their attempt from Achradina. The third division was led against Epipolae by Deinarchus and Demaretus, who had brought the second reinforcement from Corinth. The attack was made in all three places at once, and the troops of Hicetas were overwhelmed and took to flight. That the city was taken by storm and fell quickly into their hands after the enemy had been driven out, it is right to ascribe to the bravery of the soldiers and the ability of their general; but that not one of the Corinthians was killed or even wounded, this the good fortune of Timoleon showed to be her own work, vying emulously, as it were, with his valour, in order that those who hear his story may wonder at his happy successes more than at his laudable efforts. For his fame not only filled at once all Sicily and Italy, but within a few days Greece echoed with his great success, so that the city of Corinth, which was in doubt whether his armament had got across the sea, heard at one and the same time that it had safely crossed, and that it was victorious. So prosperous was the course of his enterprises, and such was the speed with which Fortune crowned the beauty of his achievements.

XXII. When he had become master of the citadel, he did not repeat the experience of Dion,[1] nor did he spare the place on account of the beauty and great cost of its architecture, but guarding against the suspicions which had brought calumny and then destruction upon his predecessor, he made proclama-

[1] See the *Dion*, chapter liii. 1.

τὸν βουλόμενον παρεῖναι μετὰ σιδήρου καὶ συνεφ-
άπτεσθαι κατασκαπτομένων τῶν τυραννικῶν
2 ἐρυμάτων. ὡς δὲ πάντες ἀνέβησαν, ἀρχὴν ἐλευ-
θερίας ποιησάμενοι βεβαιοτάτην τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ
τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄκραν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ μνήματα τῶν τυράννων
ἀνέτρεψαν καὶ κατέσκαψαν. εὐθὺς δὲ τὸν τόπον
συνομαλύνας ἐνῳκοδόμησε τὰ δικαστήρια, χαρι-
ζόμενος τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπερ-
τέραν ποιῶν τὴν δημοκρατίαν.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν οὐκ εἶχε πολίτας,
ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στάσεσι
διαφθαρέντων, τῶν δὲ τὰς τυραννίδας φευγόντων,
ἡ μὲν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἀγορὰ δι' ἐρημίαν οὕτως 247
πολλὴν καὶ βαθεῖαν ἐξέφυσεν ὕλην ὥστε τοὺς
ἵππους ἐν αὐτῇ κατανέμεσθαι, τῶν ἱπποκόμων ἐν
τῇ χλόῃ κατακειμένων, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις πλὴν
παντελῶς ὀλίγων ἐλάφων ἐγένοντο μεσταὶ καὶ
συῶν ἀγρίων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς προαστείοις καὶ περὶ τὰ
τείχη πολλάκις οἱ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐκυνηγέτουν,
4 ὑπήκουε δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ φρου-
ρίοις κατοικούντων, οὐδὲ κατέβαινον εἰς τὴν πόλιν,
ἀλλὰ φρίκη καὶ μῖσος εἶχε πάντας ἀγορᾶς καὶ
πολιτείας καὶ βήματος, ἐξ ὧν ἀνέφυσαν αὐτοῖς
οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων, ἔδοξε τῷ Τιμολέοντι
καὶ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις γράψαι πρὸς τοὺς Κοριν-
θίους ὅπως πέμψωσιν οἰκήτορας εἰς τὰς Συρα-
5 κούσας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἥ τε γὰρ χώρα σχολά-
ζειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πολὺν πόλεμον ἐκ Λιβύης
προσεδέχοντο, πυνθανόμενοι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους
τοῦ μὲν Μάγωνος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος ἀνεσταυρω-
κέναι τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὀργισθέντας,

tion that all Syracusans who wished should come with implements of iron and help in the demolition of the tyrants' bulwarks. And when they had all come up, considering that day with its proclamation to be a most secure beginning of freedom, they overthrew and demolished, not only the citadel, but also the palaces and the tombs of the tyrants. Then, as soon as he had levelled off the place, Timoleon built the courts of justice there, thus gratifying the citizens by making their democracy triumphant over tyranny.

But the city which he had taken had not citizens enough, since some had perished in their wars and seditions, while others had gone into exile from tyrannical governments. Indeed, for lack of population the market place of Syracuse had produced such a quantity of dense herbage that horses were pastured in it, while their grooms lay down in the grass; and the other cities, with almost no exceptions, were full of deer and wild swine, while in their suburbs and around their walls those who had leisure for it went hunting, and not one of those who were established in fortresses and strongholds would hearken to any summons, or come down into the city, but fear and hatred kept all away from market place and civic life and public speaking, which had produced the most of their tyrants. Therefore Timoleon and the Syracusans decided to write to the Corinthians urging them to send settlers to Syracuse from Greece. For otherwise the land was likely to lie uncultivated, and they expected a great war from Africa, since they learned that the Carthaginians, after Mago's suicide, had impaled his dead body, in their rage at his conduct of the expedition, and that they were

αὐτοὺς δὲ συνάγειν μεγάλην δύναμιν ὡς ἔτους ὥρᾳ διαβησομένους εἰς Σικελίαν.

XXIII. Τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων τούτων παρὰ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος κομισθέντων, καὶ πρέσβεων ἅμα παρόντων Συρακουσίων καὶ δεομένων ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς οἰκιστάς, οὐχ ἥρπασαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὴν πλεονεξίαν, οὐδὲ προσεποίησαν αὑτοῖς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιόντες τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι[1] καὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πανηγύρεων ἀνηγόρευον ὑπὸ κηρύκων ὅτι Κορίνθιοι καταλελυκότες τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις τυραννίδα, καὶ
2 τὸν τύραννον ἐξεληλακότες, καλοῦσι Συρακουσίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σικελιωτῶν τὸν βουλόμενον οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους, ἐπ' ἴσοις καὶ δικαίοις τὴν χώραν διαλαχόντας· ἔπειτα διαπέμποντες ἀγγέλους εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους, ὅπου πλείστους ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν φυγάδων διεσπαρμένους κατοικεῖν, παρεκάλουν ἰέναι πάντας εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς Κορινθίων ἀσφαλῆ πομπὴν καὶ πλοῖα καὶ στρατηγοὺς παρεξόντων
3 ἰδίοις τέλεσιν εἰς Συρακούσας. κηρυσσομένων δὲ τούτων ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸν δικαιότατον καὶ κάλλιστον ἀπελάμβανεν ἔπαινον καὶ ζῆλον, ἐλευθεροῦσα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων, σῴζουσα δ' ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀποδιδοῦσα δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν χώραν.

Οἱ δὲ συνελθόντες εἰς Κόρινθον οὐκ ὄντες ἱκανοὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐδεήθησαν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος παραλαβεῖν συνοίκους· καὶ γενόμενοι μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους κατέπλευσαν εἰς

[1] ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι with Coraës, Bekker, and Blass: Ἑλλάδι.

assembling a great force with the intention of crossing into Sicily in the summer.

XXIII. When these letters from Timoleon had been delivered, and were accompanied by Syracusan envoys who begged them to take thought for their city and to become anew its founders, the Corinthians did not seize the opportunity for their own aggrandizement, nor did they appropriate the city for themselves, but, in the first place, they visited the sacred games in Greece and the greatest festival assemblages, and proclaimed by heralds that the Corinthians had overthrown the tyranny in Syracuse, and driven out the tyrant, and now invited Syracusans, and any other Sicilian Greeks who wished, to people the city with free and independent citizens, allotting the land among them on equal and just terms. In the second place, they sent messengers to Asia and the islands, where they learned that most of the scattered exiles were residing, and invited them all to come to Corinth, assuring them that the Corinthians, at their own expense, would furnish them with leaders and transports and a safe convoy to Syracuse. By these proclamations the city of Corinth earned the justest praise and the fairest glory; she was freeing the land from its tyrants, saving it from the Barbarians, and restoring it to its rightful citizens.

When these had assembled at Corinth, being too few in number, they begged that they might receive fellow colonists from Corinth and the rest of Greece; and after their numbers had risen to as many as ten

4 Συρακούσας. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ
Σικελίας πολλοὶ τῷ Τιμολέοντι συνεληλύθεισαν·
καὶ γενομένοις αὐτοῖς ἑξακισμυρίοις τὸ πλῆθος,
ὡς Ἄθανις εἴρηκε, τὴν μὲν χώραν διένειμε, τὰς
δὲ οἰκίας ἀπέδοτο χιλίων ταλάντων, ἅμα μὲν
ὑπολειπόμενος τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Συρακουσίοις
ἐξωνεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν, ἅμα δὲ χρημάτων εὐ-
πορίαν τῷ δήμῳ μηχανώμενος οὕτως πενομένῳ
καὶ πρὸς τἆλλα καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥστε καὶ
5 τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀποδόσθαι, ψήφου διαφερομένης
ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου καὶ γινομένης κατηγορίας, ὥσπερ
ἀνθρώπων εὐθύνας διδόντων· ὅτε δή φασι τὸν
Γέλωνος ἀνδριάντα τοῦ παλαιοῦ τυράννου δια-
τηρῆσαι τοὺς Συρακουσίους, καταχειροτονου-
μένων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀγαμένους καὶ τιμῶντας
τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς νίκης ἣν πρὸς Ἱμέρᾳ Καρχη-
δονίους ἐνίκησεν.

XXIV. Οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀναζωπυρούσης
καὶ πληρουμένης, ἐπιρρεόντων πανταχόθεν εἰς
αὐτὴν τῶν πολιτῶν, βουλόμενος ὁ Τιμολέων καὶ
τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλευθερῶσαι καὶ παντάπασιν
ἐκκόψαι τῆς Σικελίας τὰς τυραννίδας, ἐπὶ τὰς
χώρας αὐτῶν στρατεύων Ἱκέτην μὲν ἠνάγκασεν
ἀποστάντα Καρχηδονίων ὁμολογῆσαι τὰς ἀκροπό-
λεις κατασκάψειν καὶ βιοτεύσειν ἰδιώτην ἐν Λεον-
2 τίνοις, Λεπτίνου δὲ τοῦ τυραννοῦντος Ἀπολλω- 248
νίας καὶ συχνῶν ἄλλων πολιχνίων, ὡς ἐκινδύνευε
κατὰ κράτος ἁλῶναι, παραδόντος αὐτὸν φεισά-
μενος εἰς Κόρινθον ἀπέστειλε, καλὸν ἡγούμενος
ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τοὺς τῆς Σικελίας τυράννους
ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποθεωρεῖσθαι φυγαδικῶς

thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. But by this time many also from Italy and Sicily had flocked to Timoleon; and when their numbers had risen to sixty thousand, as Athanis states, Timoleon divided the land among them, and sold the houses of the city for a thousand talents, thus at once reserving for the original Syracusans the power to purchase their own houses, and devising an abundance of money for the community; this had so little, both for other purposes, and especially for the war, that it actually sold its public statues at auction, a regular vote of condemnation being passed against each, as though they were men submitting their accounts. It was at this time, they say, that the statue of Gelon, their ancient tyrant, was preserved by the Syracusans, though they condemned the rest, because they admired and honoured him for the victory which he had won over the Carthaginians at Himera.[1]

XXIV. Seeing the city thus beginning to revive and fill itself with people, since its citizens were streaming into it from all sides, Timoleon determined to set the other cities also free, and utterly to root out all tyrannies from Sicily. He therefore made an expedition into their territories and compelled Hicetas to forsake the cause of Carthage, and to agree to demolish his citadels and live as a private person in Leontini. And as for Leptines, who lorded it over Apollonia and numerous other strongholds, when he was in danger of being taken by main force, he surrendered himself; and Timoleon spared his life and sent him off to Corinth, considering it a fine thing to have the tyrants of Sicily in the mother city where the Greeks could observe them living

[1] In 480 B.C., on the same day, it is said, as the victory at Salamis. Cf. Herodotus, vii. 166

3 καὶ ταπεινῶς ζῶντας. τοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους βουλόμενος ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ σχολάζειν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπανῆλθε τῇ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας προσέξων καὶ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἐκ Κορίνθου νομοθέταις Κεφάλῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα συν-
4 διαθήσων, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Δείναρχον καὶ Δημάρετον εἰς τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπικράτειαν, οἳ πόλεις πολλὰς ἀφιστάντες τῶν βαρβάρων οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ διῆγον ἐν ἀφθόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα παρεσκεύαζον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλισκομένων.

XXV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι καταπλέουσιν εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἄγοντες ἑπτὰ μυριάδας στρατοῦ καὶ τριήρεις διακοσίας καὶ πλοῖα χίλια κομίζοντα μηχανὰς καὶ τέθριππα καὶ σῖτον ἄφθονον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι ποιησόμενοι κατὰ μέρος τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ πάσης Σικελίας ἐξελάσοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἦν γὰρ ἡ δύναμις ἐξαρκοῦσα καὶ μὴ νοσοῦντας μηδὲ διεφθαρμένους ὑπ' ἀλλήλων συλλαβέσθαι Σικελιώ-
2 τας. πυθόμενοι δὲ πορθεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπικράτειαν αὐτῶν, εὐθὺς ὀργῇ πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐχώρουν Ἀσδρούβα τε καὶ Ἀμίλκα στρατηγούντων. τῆς δὲ ἀγγελίας ὀξέως εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφικομένης οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως ὥστε μόλις τῷ Τιμολέοντι τρισχιλίους ἀπὸ τοσούτων μυριάδων ὅπλα λα-

the lowly life of exiles. Moreover, he wished that his mercenaries might get booty from the enemy's country and not remain idle. Accordingly, while he himself returned to Syracuse in order to apply himself to the establishment of the civil polity and to assist the lawgivers who had come from Corinth, Cephalus and Dionysius, in arranging its most important details in the most attractive way, he sent forth the troops under Deinarchus and Demaretus[1] into that part of the island which the Carthaginians controlled, where they brought many cities to revolt from the Barbarians, and not only lived in plenty themselves, but actually raised moneys for the war from the spoils they made.

XXV. Meanwhile the Carthaginians put in at Lilybaeum with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred triremes, and a thousand transports carrying engines of war, four-horse chariots, grain in abundance, and other requisite equipment. Their purpose was, not to carry on the war by piece-meal any more, but at one time to drive the invading Greeks out of all Sicily; for their force would have been sufficient to capture the native Greeks, even though they had not been politically weak and utterly ruined by one another. And on learning that the territory which they controlled was being ravaged by the Corinthians, they were furious, and straightway marched against them under the command of Hasdrubal and Hamilcar. Tidings of this coming quickly to Syracuse, the Syracusans were so terrified at the magnitude of the enemy's forces that only three thousand out of so many tens of thousands could with difficulty be brought to pluck up courage, take their arms, and go

[1] Cf. chapter xxii. 3.

3 βόντας τολμῆσαι συνεξελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τετρακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν· καὶ τούτων αὖθις ὅσον χίλιοι καθ' ὁδὸν ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντος τοῦ Τιμολέοντος, ἀλλὰ μαινομένου παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ πρὸς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας πολεμίων μετὰ πεντακισχιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων βαδίζοντος, καὶ διαρτῶντος ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ὀκτὼ τὴν δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῶν Συρακουσῶν, ὅθεν οὔτε σωθῆναι τοῖς φεύγουσιν οὔτε
4 ταφῆναι τοῖς πεσοῦσιν αὐτῶν ὑπάρξει. τούτους μὲν οὖν Τιμολέων κέρδος ἡγεῖτο πρὸ τῆς μάχης φανεροὺς γεγονότας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐπιρρώσας κατὰ τάχος ἦγε πρὸς τὸν Κρίμησον ποταμόν, ὅπου καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἤκουσε συνάπτειν.

XXVI. Ἀναβαίνοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς λόφον, ὃν ὑπερβαλόντες ἔμελλον κατόψεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἡμίονοι σέλινα κομίζοντες· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰσῆλθε πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον, ὅτι τὰ μνήματα τῶν νεκρῶν εἰώθαμεν ἐπιεικῶς στεφανοῦν σελίνοις· καὶ παροιμία τις ἐκ τούτου γέγονε, τὸν ἐπισφα-
2 λῶς νοσοῦντα δεῖσθαι σελίνου. βουλόμενος οὖν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ τὴν δυσελπιστείαν ἀφελεῖν ὁ Τιμολέων, ἐπιστήσας τὴν πορείαν ἄλλα τε πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ διελέχθη, καὶ τὸν στέφανον αὐτοῖς ἔφη πρὸ τῆς νίκης κομιζόμενον αὐτομάτως εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἥκειν, ᾧ Κορίνθιοι στεφανοῦσι τοὺς Ἴσθμια νικῶντας, ἱερὸν καὶ πάτριον τὸ στέμμα τοῦ σελίνου

forth with Timoleon. Furthermore, the mercenaries were only four thousand in number; and of these, again, about a thousand played the coward on the march and went back to Syracuse, declaring that Timoleon was not in his right mind, but was more crazy than his years would lead one to expect, and was marching against seventy thousand of the enemy with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and was taking his force a march of eight days away from Syracuse, so that those of them who fled from the field would find no safety, and those who fell upon it would have no burial. As for these men, then, Timoleon counted it gain that they had shown what they were before the battle; the rest he encouraged and led them with all speed to the river Crimesus, where he heard that the Carthaginians also were concentrating.

XXVI. As he was marching up a hill, from the crest of which they expected to look down upon the camp and the forces of the enemy, there met them by chance some mules laden with parsley; and it occurred to the soldiers that the sign was a bad one, because we are generally accustomed to wreath the tombs of the dead with parsley; and this has given rise to a proverb, namely, that one who is dangerously sick "needs only parsley." Accordingly, wishing to free them from their superstitious fears and take away their despondency, Timoleon halted them on their march, and after discoursing otherwise as befitted the occasion, said also that the wreath for their victory had come into their hands in advance and of its own accord, the wreath with which Corinthians crown the victors at the Isthmian games, considering the garland of parsley to be tra-

νομίζοντες. ἔτι γὰρ τότε τῶν Ἰσθμίων, ὥσπερ
νῦν τῶν Νεμείων, τὸ σέλινον ἦν στέφανος, οὐ
3 πάλαι δὲ ἡ πίτυς γέγονεν. ἐντυχὼν οὖν ὁ Τιμο-
λέων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ λαβὼν
τῶν σελίνων κατεστέψατο πρῶτος αὐτός, εἶτα οἱ
περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες καὶ τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ δὲ μάντεις
κατιδόντες ἀετοὺς δύο προσφερομένους, ὧν ὁ μὲν
δράκοντα τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἔφερε διαπεπαρμένον, ὁ δὲ
ἵπτατο κεκλαγὼς μέγα καὶ θαρραλέον, ἐπεδεί-
κνυον τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ πρὸς εὐχὰς θεῶν καὶ 249
ἀνακλήσεις ἐτράποντο πάντες.

XXVII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔτος ἱσταμένου θέρους
εἶχεν ὥραν, καὶ λήγοντι μηνὶ Θαργηλιῶνι πρὸς
τὰς τροπὰς ἤδη συνῆπτε τὸν καιρόν· ὁμίχλην δὲ
τοῦ ποταμοῦ πολλὴν ἀναδιδόντος πρῶτον μὲν
ἀπεκρύπτετο ζόφῳ τὸ πεδίον, καὶ σύνοπτον οὐδὲν
ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πλὴν ἠχή τις ἄκριτος καὶ
συμμιγὴς ἄνω πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐχώρει πρόσωθεν
2 ἀνισταμένης στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης. ὡς δ' ἀναβάντες
ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔστησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ θέμενοι
τὰς ἀσπίδας διανεπαύοντο, τοῦ ἡλίου περιφερο-
μένου καὶ μετεωρίζοντος τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, ὁ μὲν
θολερὸς ἀὴρ ἀθροιζόμενος πρὸς τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ
συνιστάμενος κατενέφωσε τὰς ἀκρωρείας, τῶν δὲ
ὑπὸ πόδας τόπων ἀνακαθαιρομένων ὅ τε Κρίμησος
ἐξεφάνη καὶ διαβαίνοντες αὐτὸν ὤφθησαν οἱ
πολέμιοι, πρώτοις μὲν τοῖς τεθρίπποις ἐκπληκτι-
κῶς πρὸς ἀγῶνα κατεσκευασμένοις, κατόπιν δὲ
3 τούτων μυρίοις ὁπλίταις λευκάσπισι. τούτους
ἐτεκμαίροντο Καρχηδονίους εἶναι τῇ λαμπρότητι
τῆς σκευῆς καὶ τῇ βραδυτῆτι καὶ τάξει τῆς

ditionally sacred in their country. For at that time parsley was still used for wreaths at the Isthmian, as it is now at the Nemean games, and it was not long ago that the pine came into use instead. Accordingly, when Timoleon had addressed his soldiers, as I have said, he took of the parsley and crowned himself with it first, and then the captains and the common soldiers about him did the same. Moreover, the soothsayers, observing two eagles coming up on the wing, one of which bore a serpent pierced with its talons, while the other flew with a loud and inspiring cry, pointed them out to the soldiers, and all betook themselves to invoking the gods with prayers.

XXVII. Now, the season of the year was early summer, the month of Thargelion was drawing to a close, and the summer solstice was near;[1] the river exhaled a thick mist which at first hid the plain in darkness, and nothing could be seen in the enemy's camp, only an inarticulate and confused noise made its way up to the hill, showing that the vast host was moving forward. But after the Corinthians had ascended the hill, where they stopped, laid down their shields, and rested themselves, the sun was passing the meridian and drawing the vapours on high, the thick haze moved in masses towards the heights and hung in clouds about the mountain summits, while the regions below cleared up, the Crimesus came into view, and the enemy were seen crossing it, in the van their four-horse chariots formidably arrayed for battle, and behind these ten thousand men-at-arms with white shields. These the Corinthians conjectured to be Carthaginians, from the splendour of their armour and the slowness

[1] It was early in June, 339 B.C.

πορείας. μετὰ δὲ τούτους τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιρρεόντων καὶ τὴν διάβασιν μετ' ὠθισμοῦ καὶ ταραχῆς ποιουμένων, συνιδὼν ὁ Τιμολέων τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοῖς ταμιεύοντα τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολαβεῖν ὅσοις ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοὶ μάχεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καθορᾶν κελεύσας τὴν φάλαγγα τῷ ῥείθρῳ διαλελυμένην καὶ τοὺς
4 μὲν ἤδη διαβεβηκότας, τοὺς δὲ μέλλοντας, προσέταξε Δημαρέτῳ λαβόντι τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καὶ συνταράξαι τὸν διάκοσμον αὐτῶν τῆς παρατάξεως οὔπω καθεστώσης. αὐτὸς δὲ καταβὰς εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὰ μὲν κέρατα τοῖς ἄλλοις Σικελιώταις ἀπέδωκεν, ἀναμίξας ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ξένων οὐ πολλούς, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ περὶ αὑτὸν λαβὼν τοὺς Συρακουσίους καὶ τὸ μαχιμώτατον τῶν μισθοφόρων βραχὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέσχε
5 τὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀποθεωρῶν ἔργον, ὡς δὲ ἐκείνους εἶδεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων πρὸ τῆς τάξεως διαθεόντων εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις οὐ δυναμένους, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ συνταραχθεῖεν ἀναγκαζομένους ἐξελίττειν συνεχῶς καὶ πυκνὰς ἐξ ἐπιστροφῆς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐπελάσεις, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ βοήσας ἕπεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἔδοξεν ὑπερφυεῖ φωνῇ καὶ μείζονι κεχρῆσθαι τῆς συνήθους, εἴτε τῷ πάθει παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν οὕτω διατεινάμενος, εἴτε δαιμονίου τινός, ὡς τοῖς πολλοῖς τότε παρέστη, συνεπι-
6 φθεγξαμένου. ταχὺ δὲ τὴν κραυγὴν ἀνταποδόντων, καὶ παρεγγυώντων ἄγειν καὶ μὴ μέλλειν,

and good order of their march. After these the other nations streamed on and were making the crossing in tumultuous confusion. Then Timoleon, noticing that the river was putting it in their power to cut off and engage with whatever numbers of the enemy they themselves desired, and bidding his soldiers observe that the phalanx of the enemy was sundered by the river, since some of them had already crossed, while others were about to do so, ordered Demaretus to take the horsemen and fall upon the Carthaginians and throw their ranks into confusion before their array was yet formed. Then he himself, descending into the plain, assigned the wings to the other Sicilian Greeks, uniting a few of his mercenaries with each wing, while he took the Syracusans and the best fighters among his mercenaries under his own command in the centre. Then he waited a little while, watching what his horsemen would do, and when he saw that they were unable to come to close quarters with the Carthaginians on account of the chariots which coursed up and down in front of their lines, but were forced to wheel about continually that their ranks might not be broken, and to make their charges in quick succession after facing about again, he took up his shield and shouted to his infantrymen to follow and be of good courage; and his voice seemed stronger than usual and more than human, whether it was from emotion that he made it so loud, in view of the struggle and the enthusiasm which it inspired, or whether, as most felt at the time, some deity joined in his utterance. Then, his men re-echoing his shout, and begging him to lead them on without delay, he signalled to

τοῖς μὲν ἱππόταις ἐσήμανεν ἔξω παρὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἁρμάτων παρελάσαι καὶ κατὰ κέρας προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς προμάχους πυκνώσας τῷ συνασπισμῷ, καὶ τὴν σάλπιγγα κελεύσας ἐπιφθέγξασθαι, προσέβαλε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐπιδρομὴν ὑπέστησαν ἐρρωμένως, καὶ τῷ καταπεφράχθαι τὰ σώματα σιδηροῖς θώραξι καὶ χαλκοῖς κράνεσιν ἀσπίδας τε μεγάλας προβεβλῆσθαι διεκρούοντο τὸν δορατισμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ξίφη συνῆλθεν ὁ ἀγὼν καὶ τέχνης οὐχ ἧττον ἢ ῥώμης ἐγεγόνει τὸ ἔργον, ἐξαίφνης ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν βρονταί τε φοβεραὶ κατερρήγνυντο καὶ πυρώδεις ἀστραπαὶ συνεξέ-
2 πιπτον. εἶτα ὁ περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ζόφος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην κατιών, ὄμβρῳ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ χαλάζῃ συμμεμιγμένος, τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἐξόπισθεν καὶ κατὰ νώτου περιεχεῖτο, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἔτυπτε τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ κατήστραπτε τὰς ὄψεις, ἅμα λαίλαπος ὑγρᾶς καὶ φλογὸς συνεχοῦς ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν φερομένης. ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν ἦν τὰ λυποῦντα, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀπείρους, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ βλάψαι δοκοῦσιν αἱ βρονταὶ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ὁ πάταγος κοπτομένων ὕδατι ῥαγδαίῳ καὶ χαλάζῃ, κωλύων ἀκούεσθαι τὰ
3 προστάγματα τῶν ἡγεμόνων. τοῖς δὲ Καρχη- 250
δονίοις οὐκ οὖσιν εὐζώνοις τὸν ὁπλισμόν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καταπεφραγμένοις, ὅ τε πηλὸς ἐμπόδιος ἦν οἵ τε κόλποι πληρούμενοι τῶν χιτώνων ὕδατος, ὥσθ' αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα χρῆσθαι βαρεῖς ἦσαν καὶ δύσεργοι, ῥᾴδιοι δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι περιτρέπεσθαι, καὶ πεσόντες ἀμήχανοι

his horsemen to ride along outside and past the line of chariots and attack the enemy on the flank, while he himself made his vanguard lock their shields in close array, ordered the trumpet to sound the charge, and fell upon the Carthaginians.

XXVIII. But these withstood his first onset sturdily, and owing to the iron breastplates and bronze helmets with which their persons were protected, and the great shields which they held in front of them, repelled the spear thrusts. But when the struggle came to swords and the work required skill no less than strength, suddenly, from the hills, fearful peals of thunder crashed down, and vivid flashes of lightning darted forth with them. Then the darkness hovering over the hills and mountain summits came down to the field of battle, mingled with rain, wind, and hail. It enveloped the Greeks from behind and smote their backs, but it smote the Barbarians in the face and dazzled their eyes, a tempest of rain and continuous flames dashing from the clouds. In all this there was much that gave distress, and most of all to the inexperienced; and particularly, as it would seem, the peals of thunder worked harm, and the clatter of the armour smitten by the dashing rain and hail, which made it impossible to hear the commands of the leaders. Besides, since the Carthaginians were not lightly equipped, but, as I have said, encased in armour, both the mud and the bosoms of their tunics filled with water impeded them, so that they were unwieldy and ineffective in their fighting, and easily upset by the Greeks, and when they had once fallen it was impossible for them to rise again from

4 πάλιν ἐκ πηλοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναστῆναι. καὶ
γὰρ ὁ Κρίμησος ὑπὸ τῶν διαβαινόντων ἐκλύσθη
μέγας ἤδη τοῖς ὄμβροις ηὐξημένος, καὶ τὸ πεδίον
τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολλὰς συναγκείας καὶ φάραγ-
γας ὑποκείμενον ἐπίμπλατο ῥευμάτων οὐ κατὰ
πόρον φερομένων, οἷς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καλινδού-
μενοι χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττον. τέλος δὲ τοῦ χει-
μῶνος ἐπικειμένου, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν πρώτην
τάξιν αὐτῶν, ἄνδρας τετρακοσίους, καταβαλόν-
5 των, ἐτράπη τὸ πλῆθος εἰς φυγήν. καὶ πολλοὶ
μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο,
πολλοὺς δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοῖς ἔτι περαιουμένοις
συμπίπτοντας ἐμβάλλων καὶ παραφέρων ἀπώλ-
λυε, πλείστους δὲ τῶν λόφων ἐφιεμένους ἐπι-
θέοντες οἱ ψιλοὶ κατειργάσαντο. λέγονται γοῦν
ἐν μυρίοις νεκροῖς τρισχίλιοι Καρχηδονίων γενέ-
6 σθαι, μέγα τῇ πόλει πένθος. οὔτε γὰρ γένεσιν
οὔτε πλούτοις οὔτε δόξαις ἕτεροι βελτίονες ἦσαν
ἐκείνων, οὔτ' ἀποθανόντας ποτὲ μιᾷ μάχῃ πρό-
τερον ἐξ αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων τοσούτους μνη-
μονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ Λίβυσι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ Ἴβηρσι
καὶ Νομάσι χρώμενοι πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἀλλοτρίαις
βλάβαις ἀνεδέχοντο τὰς ἥττας.

XXIX. Ἐγνώσθη δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡ δόξα τῶν πεσόντων ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων. ἐλάχιστος γὰρ ἦν χαλκῶν καὶ σιδηρῶν τοῖς σκυλεύουσι λόγος· οὕτως ἄφθονος μὲν ἦν ἄργυρος, ἄφθονος δὲ χρυσός. καὶ γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον μετὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων διαβάντες ἔλαβον. τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεκλάπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἰς δὲ κοινὸν ἀπεδείχθησαν πεντακισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος· ἥλω δὲ καὶ διακόσια τῶν

the mud with their weapons. For the Crimesus, having been already greatly swollen by the rains, was forced over its banks by those who were crossing it, and the adjacent plain, into which many glens and ravines opened from the hills, was filled with streams that hurried along no fixed channels, and in these the Carthaginians wallowed about and were hard beset. Finally, the storm still assailing them, and the Greeks having overthrown their first rank of four hundred men, the main body was put to flight. Many were overtaken in the plain and cut to pieces, and many the river dashed upon and carried away to destruction as they encountered those who were still trying to cross, but most of them the light-armed Greeks ran upon and despatched as they were making for the hills. At any rate, it is said that among ten thousand dead bodies, three thousand were those of Carthaginians—a great affliction for the city. For no others were superior to these in birth or wealth or reputation, nor is it recorded that so many native Carthaginians ever perished in a single battle before, but they used Libyans for the most part and Iberians and Numidians for their battles, and thus sustained their defeats at the cost of other nations.

XXIX. The rank of those who had fallen was made known to the Greeks from the spoils. For those who stripped the bodies made very little account of bronze and iron; so abundant was silver, so abundant gold. For they crossed the river and seized the camp with its baggage-trains. As for the prisoners, most of them were stolen away and hidden by the soldiers, but as many as five thousand were delivered into the public stock; there were also

2 τεθρίππων. καλλίστην δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ὄψιν ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἐπεδείκνυτο σκηνὴ περισωρευθεῖσα παντοδαποῖς λαφύροις, ἐν οἷς χίλιοι μὲν θώρακες ἐργασίᾳ καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες, μύριαι δὲ ἀσπίδες προετέθησαν. ὀλίγοι δὲ πολλοὺς σκυλεύοντες καὶ μεγάλαις ἐντυγχάνοντες ὠφελείαις τρίτῃ μόλις ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔστησαν τρόπαιον.

Ἅμα δὲ τῇ φήμῃ τῆς νίκης ὁ Τιμολέων εἰς Κόρινθον ἔπεμψε τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅπλων, βουλόμενος αὑτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα πᾶσιν
3 ἀνθρώποις ζηλωτὴν εἶναι, θεωμένοις ἐν ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ναοὺς οὐχ Ἑλληνικοῖς κεκοσμημένους λαφύροις οὐδ' ἀπὸ συγγενῶν φόνου καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἀναθημάτων μνήμας ἀτερπεῖς ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικὰ σκῦλα καλλίσταις ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντα μετὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῶν νενικηκότων τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τιμολέων ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐλευθερώσαντες τοὺς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων χαριστήρια θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν.

XXX. Ἐκ τούτου καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἄγοντας καὶ φέροντας τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπικράτειαν, αὐτὸς ἧκεν εἰς Συρακούσας· καὶ τοὺς χιλίους μισθοφόρους ἐκείνους, ὑφ' ὧν ἐγκατελείφθη πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἐξεκήρυξε τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ πρὶν ἢ δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον ἠνάγ-
2 κασεν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν ἀπελθεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν διαπλεύσαντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπώλοντο παρασπονδηθέντες ὑπὸ Βρεττίων, καὶ δίκην ταύτην τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπέθηκε.

captured two hundred of the four-horse chariots. But the most glorious and magnificent sight was presented by the tent of Timoleon, which was heaped about with all sorts of spoils, among which a thousand breast-plates of superior workmanship and beauty and ten thousand shields were exposed to view. And as there were but few to strip many, and the booty they came upon was great, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect their trophy.

Along with the report of his victory Timoleon sent to Corinth the most beautiful of the captured armour, wishing that his own native city should be envied of all men, when in her alone of Greek cities they saw the most conspicuous temples, not adorned with Greek spoils, nor possessed of joyless memorials in the shape of votive offerings from the slaughter of kinsmen and fellow citizens, but decked with barbarian spoils which set forth in fairest inscriptions the justice as well as the valour of the victors, declaring that Corinthians and Timoleon their general set the Greeks dwelling in Sicily free from Carthaginians, and thus dedicated thank-offerings to the gods.

XXX. After this, he left his mercenaries in the enemy's territory plundering the dominion of the Carthaginians, and went himself to Syracuse; there he ordered out of Sicily the thousand mercenaries by whom he had been deserted before the battle, and compelled them to depart from Syracuse before the sun went down. These, then, after crossing into Italy, were perfidiously slain by the Bruttians, thus receiving from the divine power a penalty for

τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Μάμερκον, τὸν Κατάνης τύραν- 251
νον, καὶ Ἱκέτην, εἴτε φθόνῳ τῶν κατορθουμένων
ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος, εἴτε φοβουμένων αὐτὸν ὡς
ἄπιστον καὶ ἄσπονδον πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους, συμ-
μαχίαν ποιησαμένων πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους
καὶ κελευσάντων πέμπειν δύναμιν καὶ στρατη-
γόν, εἰ μὴ παντάπασι βούλονται Σικελίας ἐκ-
3 πεσεῖν, ἔπλευσε Γέσκων ναῦς μὲν ἔχων ἑβδομή-
κοντα, μισθοφόρους δὲ προσλαβὼν Ἕλληνας,
οὔπω πρότερον Ἕλλησι χρησαμένων Καρχη-
δονίων, ἀλλὰ τότε θαυμασάντων ὡς ἀνυπο-
στάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων.
συστάντες δὲ κοινῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἅπαντες ἐν τῇ
Μεσσηνίᾳ τετρακοσίους τῶν παρὰ Τιμολέοντος
ξένων ἐπικούρους πεμφθέντας ἀπέκτειναν, ἐν
δὲ τῇ Καρχηδονίων ἐπικρατείᾳ περὶ τὰς καλου-
μένας Ἰετὰς ἐνεδρεύσαντες τοὺς μετ' Εὐθύμου
4 τοῦ Λευκαδίου μισθοφόρους διέφθειραν. ἐξ ὧν
καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίαν συνέβη
γενέσθαι διώνυμον. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν
μετὰ Φιλομήλου τοῦ Φωκέως καὶ Ὀνομάρχου
Δελφοὺς καταλαβόντων καὶ μετασχόντων ἐκείνοις
τῆς ἱεροσυλίας. μισούντων δὲ πάντων αὐτοὺς
καὶ φυλαττομένων ἐπαράτους γεγονότας, πλανώ-
μενοι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος
ἐλήφθησαν ἑτέρων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ εὐποροῦντος.
5 ἀφικόμενοι δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν ὅσας μὲν ἐκείνῳ
συνηγωνίσαντο μάχας πάσας ἐνίκων, τῶν δὲ
πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγώνων τέλος ἐχόντων

their treachery. Mamercus, however, the tyrant of Catana, and Hicetas, whether through envy of the successes won by Timoleon, or because they feared him as one who distrusted tyrants and would make no peace with them, formed an alliance with the Carthaginians and urged them to send a general with an army if they did not wish to be cast out of Sicily altogether. Accordingly, Gisco set sail[1] with a fleet of seventy ships, and added Greek mercenaries to his forces, although the Carthaginians had never before employed Greek soldiers; they did so at this time, however, because they had come to admire them as the best and most irresistible fighters in the world. After they had all united their forces in the territory of Messana, they slew four hundred of Timoleon's mercenaries who had been sent thither as auxiliaries, and in that part of the island belonging to the Carthaginians, near the place called Ietae, they set an ambush for the mercenaries under Euthymus the Leucadian and cut them to pieces. Herein even most of all did the good fortune of Timoleon become famous. For these were some of the men who, with Philomelus the Phocian and Onomarchus, had seized Delphi and shared in their spoliation of the sanctuary.[2] Then, since all mankind hated them and shunned them as men who had put themselves under a curse, they wandered about Peloponnesus, where they were enlisted in his service by Timoleon, in the dearth of other soldiers. And after coming into Sicily, they were victorious in all the battles which they fought under his leadership, but when the most and greatest of his

[1] In the spring of 338 B.C.
[2] This was at the beginning of the second so-called Sacred War, 356 B.C.

ἐκπεμπόμενοι πρὸς ἑτέρας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας ἀπώλοντο καὶ καταναλώθησαν, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρος, τῆς Δίκης αὐτοῖς ἀπολογουμένης τῇ Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπιτιθεμένης[1] ὅπως μηδεμία τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κακῶν κολάσεως βλάβη γένηται. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Τιμολέοντα τῶν θεῶν εὐμένειαν οὐχ ἧττον ἐν αἷς προσέκρουσε πράξεσιν ἢ περὶ ἃς κατώρθου θαυμάζεσθαι συνέβαινεν.

XXXI. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐχαλέπαινον ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων προπηλακιζόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάμερκος ἐπὶ τῷ ποιήματα γράφειν καὶ τραγῳδίας μέγα φρονῶν ἐκόμπαζε νικήσας τοὺς μισθοφόρους, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναθεὶς τοῖς θεοῖς ἐλεγεῖον ὑβριστικὸν ἐπέγραψε·

Τάσδ' ὀστρειογραφεῖς καὶ χρυσελεφαντηλέκτρους
ἀσπίδας ἀσπιδίοις εἵλομεν εὐτελέσι.

2 γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος εἰς Καλαυρίαν στρατεύσαντος, ὁ Ἱκέτης ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Συρακουσίαν λείαν τε συχνὴν ἔλαβε καὶ πολλὰ λυμηνάμενος καὶ καθυβρίσας ἀπηλλάττετο παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Καλαυρίαν, καταφρονῶν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ὀλίγους στρατιώτας ἔχοντος. ἐκεῖνος δὲ προλαβεῖν ἐάσας ἐδίωκεν ἱππεῖς ἔχων καὶ ψιλούς. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἱκέτης τὸν Δαμυρίαν διαβεβηκὼς ὑπέστη παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀμυνούμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ θάρσος ἥ τε τοῦ πόρου χαλεπότης καὶ τὸ κρημνῶδες τῆς ἑκατέρω-
3 θεν ὄχθης παρεῖχε. τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος

[1] τῆς Δίκης . . . ἐπιτιθεμένης Sintenis, with the MSS. The corrupt passage is variously emended by different editors.

struggles were over, they were sent out by him to the assistance of others, and then perished utterly, not all at one time, but little by little. And Justice thus punished them, while at the same time she sustained the good fortune of Timoleon, in order that no harm might come to the good from the chastisement of the wicked. So, then, the good will of the gods towards Timoleon was no less to be admired in his reverses than in his successes.

XXXI. But the people of Syracuse were vexed at the insults heaped upon them by the tyrants. For Mamercus, who valued himself highly as a writer of poems and tragedies, boasted of his victory over the mercenaries, and in dedicating their shields to the gods wrote the following insolent couplet:—

"These bucklers, purple-painted, decked with
ivory, gold, and amber,
We captured with our simple little shields."

And after this, when Timoleon was on an expedition to Calauria, Hicetas burst into the territory of Syracuse, took much booty, wrought much wanton havoc, and was marching off past Calauria itself, despising Timoleon, who had but few soldiers. But Timoleon suffered him to pass on, and then pursued him with cavalry and light-armed troops. When Hicetas was aware of this, he crossed the river Damurias, and halted on the farther bank to defend himself; for the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of the banks on either side, gave him courage. Then

*ἰλάρχαις ἔρις ἐμπεσοῦσα θαυμαστὴ καὶ φιλο-
νεικία διατριβὴν ἐποίει τῆς μάχης. οὐδεὶς γὰρ
ἦν ὁ βουλόμενος ἑτέρου διαβαίνειν ὕστερος ἐπὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἠξίου πρω-
ταγωνιστεῖν, καὶ κόσμον οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ διάβασις
ἐξωθούντων καὶ παρατρεχόντων ἀλλήλους. βου-
λόμενος οὖν ὁ* Τιμολέων *κληρῶσαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας
ἔλαβε παρ' ἑκάστου δακτύλιον· ἐμβαλὼν δὲ
πάντας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα καὶ μίξας ἔδειξε
τὸν πρῶτον κατὰ τύχην γλυφὴν ἔχοντα τῆς σφρα-*
4 *γῖδος τρόπαιον. ὡς δὲ τοῦτον εἶδον οἱ νεανίσκοι,
μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνακραγόντες οὐκ ἔτι τὸν ἄλλον
ὑπέμειναν κλῆρον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχε
τὸν ποταμὸν διεξελάσαντες ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τοῖς
πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὴν βίαν αὐτῶν,
ἀλλὰ φεύγοντες τῶν μὲν ὅπλων ἅπαντες ὁμαλῶς
ἐστερήθησαν, χιλίους δὲ ἀπέβαλον πεσόντας.*

XXXII. Οὐ *πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν* Λεον- 252
τίνων στρατεύσας ὁ Τιμολέων *λαμβάνει τὸν*
Ἱκέτην *ζῶντα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν* Εὐπόλεμον *καὶ τὸν
ἱππάρχην* Εὔθυμον, *ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συνδε-
θέντας καὶ κομισθέντας πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ μὲν οὖν*
Ἱκέτης *καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὡς τύραννοι καὶ προδόται
κολασθέντες ἀπέθνησκον, ὁ δ'* Εὔθυμος, *ἀνὴρ
ἀγαθὸς ὢν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων,
οὐκ ἔτυχεν οἴκτου διὰ βλασφημίαν τινὰ πρὸς*
2 *τοὺς* Κορινθίους *κατηγορηθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ. λέγεται
γὰρ ὅτι τῶν* Κορινθίων *ἐκστρατευσαμένων ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς* Λεοντίνοις *οὐδὲν ἔφη
γεγονέναι φοβερὸν οὐδὲ δεινόν, εἰ*

Κορίνθιαι *γυναῖκες ἐξῆλθον δόμων.*

among Timoleon's cavalry officers an astonishing strife and contention arose which delayed the battle. For not one of them was willing to cross the river against the enemy after another, but each demanded to begin the onset himself, and their crossing was likely to be without order if they crowded and tried to run past one another. Timoleon, therefore, wishing to decide their order by lot, took a seal-ring from each of the leaders, and after casting all the rings into his own cloak and mixing them up, he showed the first that came out, and it had by chance as the device of its seal a trophy of victory. When the young men saw it, they cried aloud for joy and would no longer wait for the rest of the lot, but all dashed through the river as fast as they could and closed with the enemy. These could not withstand the violence of their onset, but fled, all alike losing their arms, and a thousand being left dead on the field.

XXXII. Not long afterwards Timoleon made an expedition into the territory of Leontini and captured Hicetas alive, together with his son Eupolemus and his master of horse Euthymus, who were bound and brought to Timoleon by his soldiers. Hicetas, then, and his young son, were punished as tyrants and traitors and put to death, and Euthymus, though a brave man in action and of surpassing boldness, found no pity because of a certain insult to the Corinthians which was alleged against him. It is said, namely, that when the Corinthians had taken the field against them, Euthymus told the men of Leontini in a public harangue that it was nothing fearful or dreadful if

"Corinthian women came forth from their homes." [1]

[1] An adaptation of Euripides, *Medeia*, 215 (Kirchhoff), where Medea speaks to the chorus in the first person.

οὕτως ὑπὸ λόγων μᾶλλον ἢ πράξεων πονηρῶν ἀνιᾶσθαι πεφύκασιν οἱ πολλοί· χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ὕβριν ἢ βλάβην φέρουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι δι' ἔργων ὡς ἀναγκαῖον δέδοται τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ βλασφημίαι περιουσίᾳ μίσους ἢ κακίας γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν.

XXXIII. Ἐπανελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος οἱ Συρακούσιοι τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἱκέτην καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καταστήσαντες εἰς κρίσιν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τῶν Τιμολέοντος ἔργων ἀχαριστότατον γενέσθαι· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἐκείνου κωλύοντος οὕτως τὰς ἀνθρώπους
2 ἀποθανεῖν. δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ προέσθαι τῷ θυμῷ τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην λαμβανόντων ὑπὲρ Δίωνος τοῦ Διονύσιον ἐκβαλόντος. Ἱκέτης γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Δίωνος Ἀρέτην καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀριστομάχην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔτι παῖδα καταποντίσας ζῶντας, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ Δίωνος γέγραπται βίῳ.

XXXIV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Μάμερκον εἰς Κατάνην καὶ περὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα τὴν Ἄβολον ἐκ παρατάξεως ὑποστάντα νικήσας καὶ τρεψάμενος ὑπὲρ δισχιλίους ἀνεῖλεν, ὧν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Γέσκωνος ἐπίκουροι Φοίνικες. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν δεηθέντες, ὥστε τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Λύκου χώραν ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις[1] ἐξ αὐτῆς μετοικεῖν πρὸς Συρακουσίους χρήματα καὶ γενεὰς ἀποδιδόντες, καὶ τοῖς

[1] *τοῖς βουλομένοις* Coraës, Sintenis[1], and Bekker, after Reiske (with AC): *τοὺς βουλομένους*. Coraës and Bekker bracket the preceding *καί*.

So natural is it for most men to be more galled by bitter words than hostile acts; since insolence is harder for them to bear than injury. Besides, defensive acts are tolerated in an enemy as a necessary right, but insults are thought to spring from an excess of hatred or baseness.

XXXIII. After Timoleon had returned, the Syracusans brought the wives and daughters of Hicetas and his friends to public trial, and then put them to death. And this would seem to have been the most displeasing thing in Timoleon's career; for if he had opposed it, the women would not have been thus put to death. But apparently he neglected them and abandoned them to the wrath of the citizens, who were bent on taking vengeance in behalf of Dion, who drove out Dionysius. For Hicetas was the man who took Arete the wife of Dion, and Aristomache his sister, and his son, who was still a boy, and threw them into the sea alive, concerning which things I have written in my Life of Dion.[1]

XXXIV. After this, Timoleon made an expedition against Mamercus to Catana, conquered and routed him in a pitched battle near the stream of the Abolus, and slew above two thousand of his soldiers, a large part of whom were the Carthaginians sent him as auxiliaries by Gisco. Thereupon the Carthaginians made a peace with him which they sought themselves; the terms were that they should keep the territory within the river Lycus, restoring their families and property to all who wished to change their homes from there to Syracuse, and renouncing

[1] Chapter lviii. 4.

2 τυράννοις ἀπειπάμενοι τὴν συμμαχίαν. Μάμερκος
δὲ δυσθυμῶν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔπλει μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν
ὡς Λευκανοὺς ἐπάξων Τιμολέοντι καὶ Συρακου-
σίοις, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποστρέψαντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς
τριήρεις καὶ πλεύσαντες εἰς Σικελίαν τῷ Τιμο-
λέοντι τὴν Κατάνην παρέδωκαν, ἀναγκασθεὶς
καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Μεσσήνην κατέφυγε πρὸς Ἵππωνα
3 τὸν τυραννοῦντα τῆς πόλεως. ἐπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ
Τιμολέοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιορκοῦντος ἔκ τε γῆς
καὶ θαλάττης, ὁ μὲν Ἵππων ἀποδιδράσκων ἐπὶ
νεὼς ἥλω, καὶ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι,
καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλείων ὡς ἐπὶ
θέαμα κάλλιστον τὴν τοῦ τυράννου τιμωρίαν
ἀγαγόντες εἰς θέατρον, ᾐκίσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν·
ὁ δὲ Μάμερκος ἑαυτὸν Τιμολέοντι παρέδωκεν
ἐπὶ τῷ δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἐν Συρακουσίοις μὴ
4 κατηγοροῦντος Τιμολέοντος. ἀχθεὶς δὲ εἰς τὰς
Συρακούσας, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπεχείρει
μέν τινα συγκείμενον ἐκ παλαιοῦ λόγον ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ διεξιέναι, θορύβοις δὲ περιπίπτων καὶ τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν ὁρῶν ἀπαραίτητον ἔθει ῥίψας τὸ
ἱμάτιον διὰ μέσου τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ πρός τι τῶν
βάθρων δρόμῳ φερόμενος συνέρρηξε τὴν κεφαλὴν
ὡς ἀποθανούμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔτυχέ γε ταύτης τῆς
τελευτῆς, ἀλλ' ἔτι ζῶν ἀπαχθεὶς ἥνπερ οἱ λῃσταὶ
δίκην ἔδωκε.

XXXV. Τὰς μὲν οὖν τυραννίδας ὁ Τιμολέων
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξέκοψε καὶ τοὺς πολέμους
ἔλυσε· τὴν δὲ ὅλην νῆσον ἐξηγριωμένην ὑπὸ κακῶν
καὶ διαμεμισημένην ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων παρα-
λαβὼν οὕτως ἐξημέρωσε καὶ ποθεινὴν ἐποίησε
πᾶσιν ὥστε πλεῖν οἰκήσοντας ἑτέρους ὅθεν οἱ 253

their alliance with the tyrants. Then Mamercus, despairing of success, took ship for Italy with the purpose of bringing the Lucanians against Timoleon and Syracuse; but his companions on the voyage turned their triremes back, sailed to Sicily, and handed Catana over to Timoleon, whereupon Mamercus himself also was compelled to seek refuge in Messana with Hippo the tyrant of that city. But Timoleon came up against them and besieged them by land and sea, and Hippo was caught as he was trying to steal away on board a ship. Then the Messanians took him into the theatre, brought their children thither from their schools to behold, as a glorious spectacle, the tyrant's punishment, and put him to torment and death. As for Mamercus, he gave himself up to Timoleon on condition that he should undergo trial at Syracuse, and that Timoleon should not denounce him. So he was brought to Syracuse, and when he came before the people, attempted to rehearse a speech composed by him a long time before; but being received with noise and clamour, and seeing that the assembly was inexorable, he flung away his mantle, ran right across the theatre, and dashed head foremost against one of the stone steps, hoping to kill himself. However, he was not so fortunate as to die in this way, but was taken away, still living, and crucified like a robber.

XXXV. In this manner, then, did Timoleon extirpate the tyrannies and put a stop to their wars. He found the whole island reduced to a savage state by its troubles and hated by its inhabitants, but he made it so civilized and so desirable in the eyes of all men that others came by sea to dwell in the

2 πολῖται πρότερον ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ γὰρ Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Γέλαν, πόλεις μεγάλας μετὰ τὸν Ἀττικὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἀναστάτους γεγενημένας, τότε κατῴκισαν, τὴν μὲν οἱ περὶ Μέγελλον καὶ Φέριστον ἐξ Ἐλέας, τὴν δὲ οἱ περὶ Γόργον ἐκ Κέω πλεύσαντες καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἀρχαίους πολίτας· οἷς οὐ μόνον ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ πολέμου τοσούτου καὶ γαλήνην ἱδρυομένοις παρασχών, ἀλλὰ καὶ τἆλλα παρασκευάσας καὶ συμ-
3 προθυμηθεὶς ὥσπερ οἰκιστὴς ἠγαπᾶτο. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ διακειμένων ὁμοίως ἁπάντων πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ πολέμου τις λύσις, οὐ νόμων θέσις, οὐ χώρας κατοικισμός, οὐ πολιτείας διάταξις ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν, ἧς ἐκεῖνος μὴ προσάψαιτο μηδὲ κατακοσμήσειεν, ὥσπερ ἔργῳ συντελουμένῳ δημιουργὸς ἐπιθείς τινα χάριν θεοφιλῆ καὶ πρέπουσαν.

XXXVI. Πολλῶν γοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν Ἑλλήνων μεγάλων γενομένων καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασαμένων, ὧν καὶ Τιμόθεος ἦν καὶ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ Πελοπίδας καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ζηλωθεὶς ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος Ἐπαμεινώνδας, αἱ μὲν ἐκείνων πράξεις βίᾳ τινὶ καὶ πόνῳ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐξενηνόχασι μεμιγμένον, ὥστε καὶ μέμψιν ἐνίαις ἐπιγίνεσθαι καὶ μετάνοιαν, τῶν δὲ Τιμολέοντος ἔργων, ἔξω λόγου θεμένοις τὴν περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνάγκην, οὐδέν ἐστιν ᾧ μὴ τὰ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, ἐπιφωνεῖν ἔπρεπεν·

> ὦ θεοί, τίς ἆρα Κύπρις ἢ τίς ἵμερος
> τοῦδε ξυνήψατο;

places from which their own citizens used to run away before. Agrigentum and Gela, for instance, great cities which had been ruined and depopulated by the Carthaginians after the Attic war, were re-peopled at this time, one by Megellus and Pheristus from Velia, the other by Gorgus, who sailed from Ceos and brought with his company the old citizens. To these settlers Timoleon not only afforded safety and calm after so long a storm of war, but also supplied their further needs and zealously assisted them, so that he was revered by them as a founder. All the other inhabitants also cherished like feelings towards him, and no conclusion of war, no institution of laws, no settlement of territory, no arrangement of civil polity seemed satisfactory, unless he gave the finishing touches to it, like a master builder adding to a work that is drawing to completion some grace which pleases gods and men.

XXXVI. At any rate, though in his time Greece produced many men who were great and wrought great things, such as Timotheus, Agesilaüs, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas (whom Timoleon most emulated), still, the lustre of their achievements was tarnished by a certain degree of violence and laborious effort, so that some of them were followed by censure and repentance; whereas in the career of Timoleon, setting aside his necessary treatment of his brother, there is nothing to which it were not meet, as Timaeus says, to apply the words of Sophocles:—

"Ye Gods, pray tell what Cypris or what winning love
Was partner in this work?"[1]

[1] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2] p. 316.

2 καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἀντιμάχου ποίησις καὶ τὰ Διονυσίου ζωγραφήματα, τῶν Κολοφωνίων, ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα καὶ τόνον ἐκβεβιασμένοις καὶ καταπόνοις ἔοικε, ταῖς δὲ Νικομάχου γραφαῖς καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου στίχοις μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως καὶ χάριτος πρόσεστι τὸ δοκεῖν εὐχερῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπειργάσθαι, οὕτως παρὰ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀγησιλάου, πολυπόνους γενομένας καὶ δυσάγωνας, ἡ Τιμολέοντος ἀντεξεταζομένη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ πολὺ τὸ ῥᾴδιον ἔχουσα, φαίνεται τοῖς εὖ καὶ δικαίως λογιζομένοις οὐ τύχης
3 ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς εὐτυχούσης. καίτοι πάντα γ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν τύχην ἀνῆπτε τὰ κατορθούμενα· καὶ γὰρ γράφων τοῖς οἴκοι φίλοις καὶ δημηγορῶν πρὸς τοὺς Συρακουσίους πολλάκις ἔφη τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὅτι βουλόμενος σῶσαι Σικελίαν ἐπεγράψατο τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενος Αὐτοματίας ἔθυεν, αὐτὴν
4 δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἱερῷ δαίμονι καθιέρωσεν. ᾤκει δὲ οἰκίαν ἣν ἐξεῖλον αὐτῷ στρατηγίας ἀριστεῖον οἱ Συρακούσιοι, καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν τὸν ἥδιστον καὶ κάλλιστον· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου κατεσχόλαζε, μεταπεμψάμενος οἴκοθεν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. οὐ γὰρ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον, οὐδὲ κατέμιξε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς θορύβοις ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ τῷ πολιτικῷ φθόνῳ παρέδωκεν, εἰς ὃν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπληστίᾳ τιμῶν καὶ δυνάμεως ἐξοκέλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ μεμηχανημένοις ἀγαθοῖς χρώμενος· ὧν μέγιστον ἦν τὸ πόλεις τοσαύτας καὶ μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων δι' ἑαυτὸν ἐφορᾶν εὐδαιμονούσας.

For just as the poetry of Antimachus and the pictures of Dionysius, both Colophonians, for all their strength and vigour, seem forced and laboured, while the paintings of Nicomachus and the verses of Homer not only have power and grace besides, but also give the impression of having been executed readily and easily; so, if we compare the generalship of Epaminondas and Agesilaüs, which in both cases was full of toil and bitter struggles, with that of Timoleon, which was exercised with much ease as well as glory, it appears to men of just and careful reasoning a product, not of fortune, but of fortunate valour. And yet all his successes were ascribed by him to fortune; for in his letters to his friends at home and in his public addresses to the Syracusans he often said he was thankful to God, who, desiring to save Sicily, gave him the name and title of its saviour. Moreover, in his house he built a shrine for sacrifice to Automatia, or Chance, and the house itself he consecrated to man's sacred genius. And the house in which he dwelt was picked out for him by the Syracusans as a prize for his achievements in the field; they also gave him the pleasantest and most beautiful of their country estates, and at this he used to spend the greater part of his leisure time, after he had sent home for his wife and children. For he did not return to Corinth, nor did he take part in the disturbances of Greece or expose himself to the jealousy of his fellow citizens, the rock on which most generals, in their insatiable greed for honours and power, make shipwreck; but he remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings of his own creation, the greatest of which was the sight of so many cities and myriads of people whose happiness was due to him.

XXXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ χρῆν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ μόνον πᾶσι κορυδαλλοῖς λόφον ἐγγίγνεσθαι, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσῃ δημοκρατίᾳ συκοφάντην, ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ Τιμολέοντι δύο τῶν δημαγωγῶν, Λαφύστιος καὶ Δημαίνετος. ὧν Λαφυστίου μὲν αὐτὸν πρός τινα δίκην κατεγγυῶντος οὐκ εἴα
2 θορυβεῖν οὐδὲ κωλύειν τοὺς πολίτας· ἑκὼν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπομεῖναι τοσούτους πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις χρῆσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον Συρακουσίων· τοῦ δὲ Δημαινέτου πολλὰ κατη- 254
γορήσαντος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς στρατηγίας, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἔφη χάριν ὀφείλειν, οἷς εὔξατο Συρακουσίους ἐπιδεῖν τῆς παρρησίας κυρίους γενομένους.

3 Μέγιστα δ' οὖν καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν Ἑλλήνων ὁμολογουμένως διαπραξάμενος ἔργα, καὶ μόνος, ἐφ' ἃς οἱ σοφισταὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν πανηγυρικῶν ἀεὶ παρεκάλουν πράξεις τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐν ταύταις ἀριστεύσας, καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτόθι κακῶν, ἃ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἑλλάδα κατέσχεν, ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης προεκκομισθεὶς ἀναίμακτος καὶ καθα-
4 ρός, ἐπιδειξάμενος δὲ δεινότητα μὲν καὶ ἀνδρείαν τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις, δικαιοσύνην δὲ καὶ πρᾳότητα τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τρόπαια τῶν ἀγώνων ἀδάκρυτα καὶ ἀπενθῆ τοῖς πολίταις καταστήσας, καθαρὰν δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ ἀϊδίων καὶ

XXXVII. But since, as it would seem, not only all larks must grow a crest, as Simonides says, but also every democracy a false accuser, even Timoleon was attacked by two of the popular leaders at Syracuse, Laphystius and Demaenetus. Of these, Laphystius once tried to make him give surety that he would appear at a certain trial, and Timoleon would not suffer the citizens to stop the man by their turbulent disapproval; for he himself, he said, had of his own accord endured all his toils and dangers in order that any Syracusan who wished might avail himself of the laws. And when the other, Demaenetus, brought many denunciations in open assembly against his conduct in the field, to him, indeed, Timoleon made no answer, but said he owed thanks to the gods, for he had prayed them that he might live to see the Syracusans gain the right of free speech.

So, then, having by general confession performed the greatest and most glorious deeds of any Greek of his time, and having been the only one to succeed in those achievements to which the rhetoricians, in their speeches at the national assemblies, were ever exhorting the Greeks; having been removed betimes by a happy fortune, pure and unstained with blood, from the evils which were rife in the mother country, and having displayed ability and valour in his dealings with Barbarians and tyrants, as well as justice and gentleness in his dealings with the Greeks and his friends; having set up most of the trophies of his contests without causing his fellow citizens either tears or mourning, and having in even less than eight years[1] handed over to her inhabitants a

[1] 346–338 B.C.

συνοίκων κακῶν καὶ νοσημάτων παραδοὺς τοῖς
5 *κατοικοῦσιν, ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἀπημβλύνθη*
τὴν ὄψιν, εἶτα τελέως ἐπηρώθη μετ᾽ ὀλίγον, οὔτε
αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ πρόφασιν παρασχὼν οὔτε παροινη-
θεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ συγγενικῆς τινος, ὡς
ἔοικεν, αἰτίας καὶ καταβολῆς ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ συν-
επιθεμένης· λέγονται γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν κατὰ
γένος αὐτῷ προσηκόντων ὁμοίως ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν
6 *ὄψιν ὑπὸ γήρως ἀπομαρανθεῖσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἄθανις*
ἔτι συνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς Ἵππωνα πολέμου καὶ
Μάμερκον, ἐν Μυλαῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου φησὶν
ἀπογλαυκωθῆναι τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι φανε-
ρὰν γενέσθαι τὴν πήρωσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποστῆναι διὰ
τοῦτο τῆς πολιορκίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμμείναντα τῷ πολέ-
μῳ λαβεῖν τοὺς τυράννους· ὡς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς
Συρακούσας, εὐθὺς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν καὶ
παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς
τὸ κάλλιστον ἡκόντων τέλος.

XXXVIII. *Ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὑπομείναντα*
τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλύπως ἧττον ἄν τις θαυμάσειε·
τῶν δὲ Συρακουσίων ἄξιον ἄγασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν
ἄνδρα τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἣν ἐπεδείξαντο πεπηρω-
μένῳ, φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων
τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ἄγοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ
τὸ χωρίον, ὅπως θεάσαιντο τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτῶν,
ἀγαλλόμενοι καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες ὅτι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς
εἵλετο καταζῆσαι τὸν βίον, οὕτω λαμπρᾶς ἐπανό-
δου τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρεσκευασμένης αὐτῷ
2 *διὰ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καταφρονήσας. πολλῶν*
δὲ καὶ μεγάλων εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν γραφομένων
καὶ πραττομένων οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἦν τὸ ψηφίσασθαι
τὸν τῶν Συρακουσίων δῆμον, ὁσάκις συμπέσοι

Sicily purged of her perpetual intestine miseries and complaints; at last, being now advanced in years, he began to lose his sight, and then, after a little, became completely blind. He had done nothing himself to occasion this, nor was he therein the sport and mockery of Fortune, but suffered from some congenital disease, as it would seem, which came upon him with his years; for it is said that not a few of his kindred lost their sight in a similar way, when it was enfeebled by old age. But Athanis says that while the war against Hippo and Mamercus was still in progress, in his camp at Mylae, his vision was obscured by a cataract in the eye, and it was plain to all that he was getting blind; he did not, however, desist from the siege on this account, but persisted in the war and captured the tyrants; yet after his return to Syracuse, he at once laid aside the sole command and begged the citizens to excuse him from it, now that matters had reached the happiest conclusion.

XXXVIII. Well, then, that he himself should bear his misfortune without repining is less a matter for wonder; but the gratitude and honour which the Syracusans showed him in his blindness are worthy of admiration. They often went to visit him in person, and brought strangers who were sojourning in the city to his house and to his country seat to see their benefactor, exulting and proud that he chose to end his days among them and thus made light of the brilliant return to Greece which had been prepared for him by reason of his successes. And of the many great things decreed and done in his honour, nothing surpassed the vote passed by the people of Syracuse that whenever they went to war against alien peoples,

πόλεμος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους, Κορινθίῳ χρῆσθαι στρατηγῷ. καλὴν δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας γινόμενον ὄψιν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ παρεῖχε· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα δι' αὑτῶν κρίνοντες ἐπὶ τὰς μείζονας
3 διασκέψεις ἐκεῖνον ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ κομιζόμενος δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ ζεύγους πρὸς τὸ θέατρον ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τῆς ἀπήνης, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε καθήμενος, εἰσαγομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἠσπάζετο μιᾷ φωνῇ προσαγορεύων αὐτόν, ὁ δ' ἀντασπασάμενος καὶ χρόνον τινὰ δοὺς ταῖς εὐφημίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, εἶτα διακούσας τὸ ζητούμενον, ἀπεφαίνετο γνώμην. ἐπιχειροτονηθείσης δὲ ταύτης οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται πάλιν ἀπῆγον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου τὸ ζεῦγος, οἱ δὲ πολῖται βοῇ καὶ κρότῳ προπέμψαντες ἐκεῖνον ἤδη τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δημοσίων καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐχρημάτιζον.

XXXIX. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ γηροτροφούμενος τιμῇ μετ' εὐνοίας, ὥσπερ πατὴρ κοινός, ἐκ μικρᾶς προφάσεως τῷ χρόνῳ συνεφαψαμένης ἐτελεύτησεν. ἡμερῶν δὲ δοθεισῶν τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις εἰς τὸ παρασκευάσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφήν, τοῖς δὲ περιοίκοις καὶ ξένοις εἰς τὸ συνελθεῖν, τά τ' ἄλλα λαμπρᾶς χορηγίας ἔτυχε, καὶ τὸ λέχος οἱ ψήφῳ τῶν νεανίσκων προκριθέντες ἔφερον κεκοσμημένον διὰ τῶν Διονυσίου τυραννείων τότε κατεσκαμμένων.
2 προὔπεμπον δὲ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυ- 255
ναικῶν, ὧν ὄψις μὲν ἦν ἑορτῇ πρέπουσα, πάντων ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ καθαρὰς ἐσθῆτας φορούντων, φωναὶ δὲ καὶ δάκρυα συγκεκραμένα τῷ μακα-

they would employ a Corinthian as their general. Moreover, the proceedings in their assemblies afforded a noble spectacle in his honour, since, while they decided other matters by themselves, for the more important deliberations they summoned him. Then he would proceed to the theatre carried through the market place on a mule-car; and when the vehicle in which he sat was brought in, the people would greet him with one voice and call him by name, and he, after returning their greetings and allowing some time for their felicitations and praises, would then listen carefully to the matter under debate and pronounce opinion. And when this opinion had been adopted, his retainers would conduct his car back again through the theatre, and the citizens, after sending him on his way with shouts of applause, would proceed at once to transact the rest of the public business by themselves.

XXXIX. Cherished in old age amid such honour and good will, like a common father, a slight cause co-operated with his great age to bring him to his end.[1] A number of days having been allowed in which the Syracusans might prepare for his funeral, while the country folk and strangers came together, the whole ceremony was conducted with great magnificence, and besides, young men selected by lot carried his bier with all its decorations through the precinct where the palace of Dionysius had stood before Timoleon destroyed it. The bier was escorted, too, by many thousands of men and women, whose appearance was one that became a festival, since all were crowned with garlands and wore white raiment; while cries and tears, mingled with benedictions

[1] In 337 or 336 B.C.

ρισμῷ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὐ τιμῆς ἀφοσιωσιν οὐδὲ λειτουργίαν ἐκ προβουλεύματος, ἀλλὰ πόθον δίκαιον ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ χάριν ἀληθινῆς εὐνοίας.
3 τέλος δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν τεθείσης Δημήτριος, ὃς ἦν μεγαλοφωνότατος τῶν τότε κηρύκων, γεγραμμένον ἀνεῖπε κήρυγμα τοιοῦτον·

"Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Συρακουσίων Τιμολέοντα Τιμοδήμου Κορίνθιον τόνδε θάπτει μὲν διακοσίων μνῶν, ἐτίμησε δ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀγῶσι μουσικοῖς, ἱππικοῖς, γυμνικοῖς, ὅτι τοὺς τυράννους καταλύσας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπολεμήσας καὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν ἀναστάτων πόλεων οἰκίσας ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Σικελιώταις."

4 Ἐποιήσαντο δὲ τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ στοὰς ὕστερον περιβαλόντες καὶ παλαίστρας ἐνοικοδομήσαντες γυμνάσιον τοῖς νέοις ἀνῆκαν καὶ Τιμολεόντειον προσηγόρευσαν. αὐτοὶ δὲ χρώμενοι πολιτείᾳ καὶ νόμοις οὓς ἐκεῖνος κατέστησεν, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδαιμονοῦντες διετέλεσαν.

upon the dead, betokened, not a formal tribute of respect, nor a service performed in obedience to public decree, but a just sorrow and a thankfulness arising from genuine good will. And finally, when the bier had been placed upon the funeral pyre, Demetrius, who had the loudest voice of any herald of the time, read from manuscript the following decree:—

> "By the people of Syracuse, Timoleon, son of Timodemus, from Corinth, is here buried at a public cost of two hundred minas, and is honoured for all time with annual contests, musical, equestrian, and gymnastic, because he overthrew the tyrants, subdued the Barbarians, re-peopled the largest of the devastated cities, and then restored their laws to the Greeks of Sicily."

Furthermore, they buried his ashes in the market place, and afterwards, when they had surrounded it with porticoes and built palaestras in it, they set it apart as a gymnasium for their young men, and named it Timoleonteum. And they themselves, using the civil polity and the laws which he had ordained, enjoyed a long course of unbroken prosperity and happiness.

AEMILIUS PAULUS

ΑΙΜΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ

II. Τὸν Αἰμιλίων οἶκον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν εὐπατρι-
δῶν γεγονέναι καὶ παλαιῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι συγ-
γραφεῖς ὁμολογοῦσιν. ὅτι δ' ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν 256
καὶ τῷ γένει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπολιπὼν Μάμερκος
ἦν, Πυθαγόρου παῖς τοῦ σοφοῦ, δι' αἱμυλίαν
λόγου καὶ χάριν Αἰμίλιος προσαγορευθείς, εἰρή-
κασιν ἔνιοι τῶν Πυθαγόρᾳ τὴν Νομᾶ τοῦ βασι-
2 λέως παίδευσιν ἀναθέντων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι
τῶν εἰς δόξαν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης προελθόντων
δι' ἀρετήν, ἣν ἐζήλωσαν, εὐτύχησαν, Λευκίου δὲ
Παύλου τὸ περὶ Κάννας ἀτύχημα τήν τε φρόνησιν
ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἔδειξεν. ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔπεισε
τὸν συνάρχοντα κωλύων μάχεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν
ἀγῶνος ἄκων μετέσχεν αὐτῷ, τῆς δὲ φυγῆς οὐκ
ἐκοινώνησεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ συνάψαντος τὸν κίνδυνον
ἐγκαταλιπόντος αὐτὸς ἑστὼς καὶ μαχόμενος τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἐτελεύτησε.

3 Τούτου θυγάτηρ μὲν Αἰμιλία Σκηπίωνι τῷ
μεγάλῳ συνῴκησεν, υἱὸς δὲ Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος,
περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφεται, γεγονὼς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ
καιρὸν ἀνθοῦντα δόξαις καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἐπιφανεστά-
των ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγίστων, διέλαμψεν, οὐ ταὐτὰ

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[1] The first chapter has been transposed to serve as Introduction to both the *Timoleon* and the *Aemilius Paulus*.

AEMILIUS PAULUS

II.[1] That the Aemilii were one of the ancient and patrician houses at Rome, most writers agree. And that the first of them, and the one who gave his surname to the family, was Mamercus, a son of Pythagoras the philosopher, who received the surname of Aemilius for the *grace*[2] and charm of his discourse, is the statement of some of those writers who hold that Pythagoras was the educator of Numa the king.[3] Now, most of this family who rose to distinction by their cultivation of virtue, were blessed with good fortune; and in the case of Lucius Paulus, his misfortune at Cannae gave testimony alike to his wisdom and valour. For when he could not dissuade his colleague from giving battle, he took part with him in the struggle, though reluctantly, but would not be a partner in his flight; nay, though the one who had brought on the peril left him in the lurch, he himself kept his post and died fighting the enemy.[4]

This Paulus had a daughter, Aemilia, who was the wife of Scipio the Great, and a son, Aemilius Paulus, whose Life I now write. He came of age at a time which abounded in men of the greatest reputation and most illustrious virtue, and yet he was a con-

[2] Plutarch suggests the identity of the Latin Aemilius with the Greek αἱμύλιος (*winning*). Cf. *Odyssey*, i. 56.
[3] See the *Numa*, i. 2 f.
[4] See the *Fabius Maximus*, chapters xiv. and xvi.

τοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσι τότε νέοις ἐπιτηδεύματα ζηλώσας, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πορευθείς.
4 οὔτε γὰρ λόγον ἤσκει περὶ δίκας, ἀσπασμούς τε καὶ δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας, αἷς ὑποτρέχοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκτῶντο θεραπευτικοὶ καὶ σπουδαῖοι γενόμενοι, παντάπασιν ἐξέλιπε, πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἀφυῶς ἔχων, ὡς δ' ἑκατέρου κρείττονα τὴν ἀπ' ἀνδρείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πίστεως δόξαν αὑτῷ περιποιούμενος, οἷς εὐθὺς διέφερε τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν.

III. Πρώτην γοῦν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀρχῶν ἀγορανομίαν μετελθὼν προεκρίθη δεκαδυοῖν ἀνδρῶν συναπογραψαμένων, οὓς ὕστερον ἅπαντας ὑπατεῦσαι λέγουσι. γενόμενος δ' ἱερεὺς τῶν Αὐγούρων προσαγορευομένων, οὓς τῆς ἀπ' ὀρνίθων καὶ διοσημειῶν ἀποδεικνύουσι Ῥωμαῖοι μαντικῆς
2 ἐπισκόπους καὶ φύλακας, οὕτω προσέσχε τοῖς πατρῴοις ἔθεσι καὶ κατενόησε τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν ὥστε τιμήν τινα δοκοῦσαν εἶναι καὶ ζηλουμένην ἄλλως ἕνεκα δόξης τὴν ἱερωσύνην τῶν ἀκροτάτων μίαν ἀποφῆναι τεχνῶν, καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ὅσοι τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὡρίσαντο θεραπείας θεῶν ἐπιστήμην
3 εἶναι. πάντα γὰρ ἐδρᾶτο μετ' ἐμπειρίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σπουδῆς, σχολὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἄγοντος ὅτε γίγνοιτο πρὸς τούτῳ, καὶ παραλείποντος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ καινοτομοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς συνιε-

spicuous figure, although he did not pursue the same studies as the young nobles of the time, nor set out on his career by the same path. For he did not practise pleading private cases in the courts, and refrained altogether from the salutations and greetings and friendly attentions to which most men cunningly resorted when they tried to win the favour of the people by becoming their zealous servants; not that he was naturally incapable of either, but he sought to acquire for himself what was better than both, namely, a reputation arising from valour, justice, and trustworthiness. In these virtues he at once surpassed his contemporaries.

III. At all events, when he sued for the first of the high offices in the state, the aedileship, he was elected over twelve competitors,[1] all of whom, we are told, afterwards became consuls. Moreover, when he was made one of the priests called Augurs, whom the Romans appoint as guardians and overseers of the art of divination from the flight of birds and from omens in the sky, he so carefully studied the ancestral customs of the city, and so thoroughly understood the religious ceremonial of the ancient Romans, that his priestly function, which men had thought to be a kind of honour, sought merely on account of the reputation which it gave, was made to appear one of the higher arts, and testified in favour of those philosophers who define religion as the science of the worship of the gods. For all the duties of this office were performed by him with skill and care, and he laid aside all other concerns when he was engaged in these, omitting nothing and adding nothing new, but ever contending even

[1] In 192 B.C.

ρεῦσιν ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν μικρῶν διαφερομένου, καὶ διδάσκοντος ὡς εἰ τὸ θεῖον εὔκολόν τις ἡγεῖται καὶ ἀμεμφὲς εἶναι τῶν ἀμελειῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γε πόλει χαλεπὸν ἡ περὶ ταῦτα συγγνώμη καὶ παρόρασις· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μεγάλῳ παρανομήματι κινεῖ πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν μειζόνων φρουρὰν καταλύουσιν οἱ προϊέμενοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς μικροῖς ἀκρίβειαν.

4 Ὅμοιον δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἐθῶν τε καὶ πατρίων ἐξεταστὴν καὶ φύλακα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτόν, οὐ δημαγωγῶν ἐν τῷ στρατηγεῖν, οὐδ', ὥσπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τότε, δευτέρας ἀρχὰς ταῖς πρώταις μνώμενος διὰ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πρᾷος εἶναι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἱερεὺς ἄλλων ὀργίων δεινῶν, τῶν περὶ τὰς στρατείας ἐθῶν ἐξηγούμενος ἕκαστα, καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι καὶ παραβαίνουσιν, ὤρθου τὴν πατρίδα, μικροῦ δεῖν πάρεργον ἡγούμενος τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους τοῦ παιδεύειν τοὺς πολίτας.

IV. Συστάντος δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν πολέμου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν τετραμμένων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἄλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἀνέστη πόλεμος, ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ κινημάτων μεγάλων γενομένων. ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐξεπέμφθη στρατηγός, οὐχ ἓξ ἔχων πελέκεις, ὅσους ἔχουσιν οἱ στρατηγοῦντες, ἀλλὰ προσλαβὼν ἑτέρους τοσούτους, ὥστε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπατικὸν
2 γενέσθαι τὸ ἀξίωμα. μάχῃ μὲν οὖν δὶς ἐκ παρα- 257
τάξεως ἐνίκησε τοὺς βαρβάρους, περὶ τρισμυρίους

with his colleagues about the small details of ceremony, and explaining to them that, although the Deity was held to be good-natured and slow to censure acts of negligence, still, for the city at least it was a grievous thing to overlook and condone them; for no man begins at once with a great deed of lawlessness to disturb the civil polity, but those who remit their strictness in small matters break down also the guard that has been set over greater matters.

Furthermore, he showed a like severity in scrutinising and preserving his country's military customs and traditions also, not courting popular favour when he was in command, nor yet, as most men did at this time, courting a second command during his first by gratifying his soldiers and treating them with mildness; but, like a priest of other dread rites, he explained thoroughly all the details of military custom and was a terror to disobedient transgressors, and so restored his country to her former greatness, considering the conquest of his enemies hardly more than an accessory to the training of his fellow-citizens.

IV. After the Romans had gone to war with Antiochus the Great, and while their most experienced commanders were employed against him, another war arose in the West, and there were great commotions in Spain. For this war Aemilius was sent out as praetor,[1] not with the six lictors which praetors usually have, but adding other six to that number, so that his office had a consular dignity. Well, then, he defeated the Barbarians in two pitched battles, and slew about thirty thousand of them;

[1] In 191 B.C.

ἀνελών, καὶ δοκεῖ τὸ κατόρθωμα τῆς στρατηγίας περιφανῶς γενέσθαι, χωρίων εὐφυΐᾳ καὶ ποταμοῦ τινος διαβάσει ῥᾳστώνην παρασχόντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ νίκημα τοῖς στρατιώταις· πόλεις δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐχειρώσατο δεξαμένας
3 *αὐτὸν ἑκουσίως. εἰρήνῃ δὲ καὶ πίστει συνηρμοσμένην ἀπολιπὼν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐδὲ δραχμῇ μιᾷ γεγονὼς εὐπορώτερος ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας. ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ τἆλλα χρηματιστὴς ἀργότερος, εὐδάπανος δὲ καὶ ἀφειδὴς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. οὐ πολλὰ δ' ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φερνῆς ὀφειλομένης τῇ γυναικὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ γλίσχρως ἐξήρκεσεν.*

V. *Ἔγημε δὲ Παπιρίαν, ἀνδρὸς ὑπατικοῦ Μάσωνος θυγατέρα, καὶ χρόνον συνοικήσας πολὺν ἀφῆκε τὸν γάμον, καίπερ ἐξ αὐτῆς καλλιτεκνότατος γενόμενος· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ τὸν κλεινότατον αὐτῷ Σκηπίωνα τεκοῦσα καὶ Μάξιμον Φάβιον. αἰτία δὲ γεγραμμένη τῆς διαστάσεως οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἀληθής τις εἶναι λόγος περὶ γάμου λύσεως γενόμενος, ὡς ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος ἀπεπέμπετο γυναῖκα, τῶν δὲ φίλων νουθετούντων*
2 *αὐτόν, "Οὐχὶ σώφρων; οὐκ εὔμορφος; οὐχὶ παιδοποιός;" προτείνας τὸ ὑπόδημα (κάλτιον αὐτὸ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν) εἶπεν· "Οὐκ εὐπρεπὴς οὗτος; οὐ νεουργής; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἰδείη τις ὑμῶν καθ' ὅ τι θλίβεται μέρος οὑμὸς πούς." τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μεγάλαι μὲν ἁμαρτίαι καὶ ἀναπεπταμέναι γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἄλλας ἀπήλλαξαν, τὰ δ' ἔκ τινος ἀηδίας καὶ δυσαρμοστίας ἠθῶν μικρὰ καὶ πυκνὰ προσκρούσματα, λανθάνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀπ-*

and it would seem that his success was conspicuously due to his generalship, since by choosing favourable ground and by crossing a certain river he made victory easy for his soldiers; moreover, he made himself master of two hundred and fifty cities, which yielded to him of their own accord. He left the province in peace and bound by pledges of fidelity, and came back to Rome, nor was he richer by a single drachma from his expedition. And, indeed, in all other ways he was a rather indifferent money-maker, and spent generously and without stint of his substance. But this was not large; indeed, after his death it barely sufficed to meet the dowry due to his wife.

V. He married Papiria, a daughter of Maso, who was a man of consular dignity, and after he had lived with her a long time he divorced her, although she had made him father of most glorious sons; for she it was who bore him that most illustrious Scipio, and Fabius Maximus. No documentary grounds for the divorce have come down to us, but there would seem to be some truth in a story told about divorce, which runs as follows. A Roman once divorced his wife, and when his friends admonished him, saying: "Is she not discreet? is she not beautiful? is she not fruitful?" he held out his shoe (the Romans call it "calceus"), saying: "Is this not handsome? is it not new? but no one of you can tell me where it pinches my foot?" For, as a matter of fact, it is great and notorious faults that separate many wives from their husbands; but the slight and frequent frictions arising from some unpleasantness or incongruity of characters, unnoticed as they may be by everybody else, also produce

εργάζεται τὰς ἀνηκέστους ἐν ταῖς συμβιώσεσιν ἀλλοτριότητας.

3 Ὁ δ' οὖν Αἰμίλιος ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς Παπιρίας ἑτέραν ἠγάγετο· καὶ δύο παῖδας ἄρρενας τεκούσης τούτους μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ προτέρους εἰσεποίησεν οἴκοις τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ γένεσι τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις, τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον τῷ Μαξίμου Φαβίου τοῦ πεντάκις ὑπατεύσαντος, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος υἱὸς ἀνεψιὸν
4 ὄντα θέμενος Σκηπίωνα προσηγόρευσε. τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων τῶν Αἰμιλίου τὴν μὲν ὁ Κάτωνος υἱὸς ἔγημε, τὴν δ' Αἴλιος Τουβέρων, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα Ῥωμαίων πενίᾳ χρησάμενος. ἦσαν γὰρ ἑκκαίδεκα συγγενεῖς, Αἴλιοι πάντες· οἰκίδιον δὲ πάνυ μικρὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ χωρίδιον ἓν ἤρκει πᾶσι, μίαν ἑστίαν νέμουσι μετὰ παίδων
5 πολλῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἐν αἷς καὶ ἡ Αἰμιλίου τοῦδε θυγάτηρ ἦν δὶς ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ δὶς θριαμβεύσαντος, οὐκ αἰσχυνομένη τὴν πενίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἣν πένης ἦν. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἂν μὴ κλίμασι καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ διατειχίσμασιν ὁρίσωσι τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐν μέσῳ λάβωσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐ παύονται διαφερόμενοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡ ἱστορία λογίζεσθαι καὶ παρεπισκοπεῖν δίδωσι τοῖς σώζεσθαι βουλομένοις.

VI. Ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος ὕπατος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παραλπίους Λίγυας, οὓς ἔνιοι καὶ Λιγυστίνους ὀνομάζουσι, μάχιμον καὶ θυμοειδὲς

incurable alienations in those whose lives are linked together.

So then Aemilius, having divorced Papiria, took another wife; and when she had borne him two sons he kept these at home, but the sons of his former wife he introduced into the greatest houses and the most illustrious families, the elder into that of Fabius Maximus, who was five times consul, while the younger was adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus, his cousin-german, who gave him the name of Scipio. Of the daughters of Aemilius, one became the wife of the son of Cato, and the other of Aelius Tubero, a man of the greatest excellence, and one who, more than any other Roman, combined the greatest dignity with poverty. For there were sixteen members of the family, all Aelii; and they had a very little house, and one little farm sufficed for all, where they maintained one home together with many wives and children. Among these wives lived also the daughter of that Aemilius who had twice been consul and twice had celebrated a triumph, and she was not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admired the virtue that kept him poor. Brethren and kinsmen of the present day, however, unless zones and rivers and walls divide their inheritances and wide tracts of land separate them from one another, are continually quarrelling. These, then, are considerations and examples which history presents to those who are willing to profit by them.

VI. Aemilius, then, having been appointed consul,[1] made an expedition against the Ligurians along the Alps, whom some call also Ligustines, a warlike

[1] In 182 B.C.

ἔθνος, ἐμπείρως δὲ πολεμεῖν διδασκόμενον ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν. τὰ γὰρ ἔσχατα τῆς
Ἰταλίας καὶ καταλήγοντα πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις αὐ-
τῶν τε τῶν Ἄλπεων τὰ κλυζόμενα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ
πελάγει καὶ πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην ἀνταίροντα νέ-
μονται, μεμιγμένοι Γαλάταις καὶ τοῖς παραλίοις
2 Ἰβήρων. τότε δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἁψάμενοι
σκάφεσι πειρατικοῖς ἀφῃροῦντο καὶ περιέκοπτον
τὰς ἐμπορίας, ἄχρι στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἀνα-
πλέοντες. ἐπιόντος οὖν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου τετρακισ-
μύριοι γενόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ὑπέστησαν· ὁ δὲ
τοὺς σύμπαντας ὀκτακισχιλίους ἔχων πενταπλα-
σίοις οὖσιν αὐτοῖς συνέβαλε, καὶ τρεψάμενος καὶ
κατακλείσας εἰς τὰ τείχη διέδωκε λόγον φιλάν-
θρωπον καὶ συμβατικόν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν βουλομένοις 258
τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παντάπασιν ἐκκόψαι τὸ Λιγύων
ἔθνος, ὥσπερ ἕρκος ἢ πρόβολον ἐμποδὼν κείμενον
τοῖς Γαλατικοῖς κινήμασιν ἐπαιωρουμένοις ἀεὶ
3 περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. πιστεύσαντες οὖν τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ
τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐνεχείρισαν. ὁ δὲ τὰς
μὲν πόλεις οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας ἢ μόνον τὰ τείχη
περιελὼν ἀπέδωκε, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἁπάσας ἀφείλετο,
καὶ πλοῖον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τρισκάλμου μεῖζον ἀπέ-
λιπε· τοὺς δ' ἡλωκότας ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ γῆν ἢ
κατὰ θάλατταν ἀνεσώσατο πολλοὺς καὶ ξένους
καὶ Ῥωμαίους εὑρεθέντας. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ἡ
ὑπατεία τὰς εἰρημένας πράξεις ἐπιφανεῖς ἔσχεν.
4 Ὕστερον δὲ πολλάκις ποιήσας φανερὸν αὑτὸν
αὖθις ὑπατεῦσαι βουλόμενον καί ποτε καὶ παραγ-
γείλας, ὡς ἀπέτυχε καὶ παρώφθη, τὸ λοιπὸν
ἡσυχίαν εἶχε, τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ τοὺς

and spirited folk, and one whose proximity to the Romans was teaching it skill in war. For they occupy the extremities of Italy that are bounded by the Alps, and those parts of the Alps themselves that are washed by the Tuscan sea and face Africa, and they are mingled with Gauls and the Iberians of the coast. At that time they had also laid hold of the sea with piratical craft, and were robbing and destroying merchandise, sailing out as far as the pillars of Hercules. Accordingly, when Aemilius came against them, they withstood him with a force of forty thousand men; but he, with eight thousand men all told, engaged their fivefold numbers, and after routing them and shutting them up in their walled towns, gave them humane and conciliatory terms; for it was not the wish of the Romans to extirpate altogether the Ligurian nation, since it lay like a barrier or bulwark against the movements of the Gauls, who were always threatening to descend upon Italy. Accordingly, putting faith in Aemilius, they delivered their ships and cities into his hands. Their cities he restored to them, either doing them no harm at all, or simply razing their walls; but he took away all their ships, and left them no boat that carried more than three oars; he also restored to safety those whom they had taken captive by land or sea, and these were found to be many, both Romans and foreigners. Such, then, were the conspicuous achievements of this first consulship.

Afterwards he often made it clear that he was desirous of a second consulship, and once actually announced his candidacy, but when he was passed by and not elected, he made no further efforts to obtain the office, giving his attention to his duties

παῖδας ἀσκῶν τὴν μὲν ἐπιχώριον παιδείαν καὶ πάτριον ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἤσκητο, τὴν δ' Ἑλληνικὴν
5 φιλοτιμότερον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον γραμματικοὶ καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ ῥήτορες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλάσται καὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ πώλων καὶ σκυλάκων ἐπιστάται καὶ διδάσκαλοι θήρας Ἕλληνες ἦσαν περὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους. ὁ δὲ πατήρ, εἰ μή τι δημόσιον ἐμποδὼν εἴη, παρῆν ἀεὶ μελετῶσι καὶ γυμναζομένοις, φιλοτεκνότατος Ῥωμαίων γενόμενος.

VII. Τῶν δὲ δημοσίων πράξεων καιρὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνος τότε καθ' ὃν Περσεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντες ἐν αἰτίαις τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶχον, ὡς δι' ἀπειρίαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν αἰσχρῶς καὶ καταγελάστως τοῖς πράγμασι χρωμένους καὶ πά-
2 σχοντας κακῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ποιοῦντας. ἄρτι μὲν γὰρ Ἀντίοχον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα μέγαν εἴξαντα τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας ὑπὲρ τὸν Ταῦρον ἐκβαλόντες καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς Συρίαν, ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις ταλάντοις ἀγαπήσαντα τὰς διαλύσεις, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρόσθεν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ συντρίψαντες Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἐλευθερώσαντες, ᾧ τε βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς παραβλητὸς εἰς τόλμαν ἢ δύναμιν, Ἀννίβαν
3 καταπολεμήσαντες, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἡγοῦντο Περσεῖ καθάπερ ἀντιπάλῳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἴσον φερόμενοι συμπεπλέχθαι, πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς πατρῴας ἥττης πολεμοῦντι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι πολλῷ τὴν Μακεδόνων

as augur, and training his sons, not only in the native and ancestral discipline in which he himself had been trained, but also, and with greater ardour, in that of the Greeks. For not only the grammarians and philosophers and rhetoricians, but also the modellers and painters, the overseers of horses and dogs, and the teachers of the art of hunting, by whom the young men were surrounded, were Greeks. And the father, unless some public business prevented, would always be present at their studies and exercises, for he was now become the fondest parent in Rome.

VII. As to public affairs, that was the period when the Romans were at war with Perseus,[1] the king of Macedonia, and were taking their generals to task because their inexperience and cowardice led them to conduct their campaigns ridiculously and disgracefully, and to suffer more harm than they inflicted. For the people which had just forced Antiochus, surnamed the Great, to retire from the rest of Asia, driven him over the Taurus mountains, and shut him up in Syria, where he had been content to buy terms with a payment of fifteen thousand talents; which had a little while before set the Greeks free from Macedonia by crushing Philip in Thessaly; and which had utterly subdued Hannibal, to whom no king was comparable for power or boldness; this people thought it unendurable that they should be compelled to contend with Perseus as though he were an even match for Rome, when for a long time already he had carried on his war against them with the poor remains of his father's routed army; for they were not aware that after his defeat Philip had

[1] 171–168 B.C.

δύναμιν ἡττηθεὶς Φίλιππος ἐρρωμενεστέραν καὶ μαχιμωτέραν ἐποίησε. περὶ ὧν δίειμι βραχέως ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος.

VIII. *Ἀντίγονος μέγιστον δυνηθεὶς τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων καὶ στρατηγῶν, κτησάμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ γένει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προσηγορίαν, υἱὸν ἔσχε Δημήτριον, οὗ παῖς Ἀντίγονος ἦν ὁ Γονατᾶς ἐπονομασθείς· τούτου δὲ Δημήτριος, ὃς αὐτός τε βασιλεύσας χρόνον οὐ πολύν, υἱόν τε παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπολιπὼν Φίλιππον ἐτελεύ-*
2 *τησε. δείσαντες δὲ τὴν ἀναρχίαν οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδόνων Ἀντίγονον ἐπάγονται τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, καὶ συνοικίσαντες αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίτροπον καὶ στρατηγόν, εἶτα πειρώμενοι μετρίου καὶ κοινωφελοῦς βασιλέα προσηγόρευσαν. ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Δώσων ὡς ἐπαγγελτικός, οὐ τελεσιουργὸς δὲ τῶν ὑπο-*
3 *σχέσεων. μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἤνθησεν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν βασιλέων ἔτι μειράκιον ὤν, καὶ δόξαν ἔσχεν ὡς ἀναστήσων Μακεδονίαν εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ πάντας ἤδη τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν αἰρομένην καθέξων. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ μεγάλῃ μάχῃ περὶ Σκότουσαν ὑπὸ Τίτου Φλαμινίνου τότε μὲν ἔπτηξε καὶ πάντα τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπέτρεψε Ῥωμαίοις,*
4 *καὶ τυχὼν ἐπιτιμήσεως μετρίας ἠγάπησεν. ὕστερον δὲ βαρέως φέρων, καὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν χάριτι Ῥωμαίων ἡγούμενος αἰχμαλώτου τρυφὴν ἀγαπῶν-*

made the Macedonian armies far more vigorous and warlike than before. This situation I will briefly explain from the beginning.

VIII. Antigonus, who was the most powerful of Alexander's generals and successors, and acquired for himself and his line the title of King, had a son Demetrius, and his son was Antigonus surnamed Gonatas. His son in turn was Demetrius, who, after reigning himself for a short time, died, leaving a son Philip still in his boyhood. The leading Macedonians, fearing the anarchy which might result, called in Antigonus, a cousin of the dead king, and married him to Philip's mother, calling him first regent and general, and then, finding his rule moderate and conducive to the general good, giving him the title of King. He received the surname of Doson, which implied that he was given to promising but did not perform his engagements. After him Philip succeeded to the throne, and, though still a youth, flowered out in the qualities which most distinguish kings, and led men to believe that he would restore Macedonia to her ancient dignity, and that he, and he alone, would check the power of Rome, which already extended over all the world. But after he was defeated in a great battle at Scotussa by Titus Flamininus,[1] for a time he took a humble posture, entrusted all his interests to the Romans, and was content to come off with a moderate fine. Afterwards, however, his condition oppressed him, and thinking that to reign by favour of the Romans was more the part of a captive

[1] In 197 B.C. The battle is usually named from a range of hills near Scotussa called Cynoscephalae. See the *Flamininus*, chapters iii. and iv.

τος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ φρόνημα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχοντος 259
ἀνδρός, ἐπεῖχε τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν γνώμην καὶ συνετάττετο λάθρα καὶ πανούργως. τῶν γὰρ πόλεων τὰς ἐνοδίους καὶ παραθαλαττίους ἀσθενεῖς γενομένας περιορῶν καὶ ὑπερήμους, ὡς καταφρονεῖ-
5 σθαι, πολλὴν ἄνω συνῆγε δύναμιν, καὶ τὰ μεσόγεια χωρία καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ σωμάτων ἀκμαζόντων ἐμπεπληκὼς ἐσωμάσκει τὸν πόλεμον καὶ συνεῖχεν ὥσπερ ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἀδήλως. ὅπλων μὲν γὰρ ἀργούντων ἀπέκειντο τρεῖς μυριάδες, ὀκτακόσιαι δὲ σίτου μεδίμνων ἦσαν ἐγκατῳκοδομημένου τοῖς τείχεσι, χρημάτων δὲ πλῆθος ὅσον ἤρκει μισθοφόρους ἔτη δέκα μυρίους τρέφειν προπολεμοῦντας τῆς χώρας.

6 Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐκ ἔφθη ταῦτα κινῆσαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν εἰς ἔργον, ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ δυσθυμίας προέμενος τὸν βίον· ἔγνω γὰρ ἀδίκως τὸν ἕτερον τῶν υἱῶν Δημήτριον ἐκ διαβολῆς τοῦ χείρονος ἀνῃρηκώς· ὁ δ' ἀπολειπόμενος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Περσεὺς ἅμα τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεδέξατο τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχθραν, οὐκ ὢν ἐχέγγυος ἐνεγκεῖν διὰ μικρότητα καὶ μοχθηρίαν ἤθους, ἐν ᾧ παθῶν τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ νοσημάτων ἐνόντων ἐπρώτευεν ἡ φιλαργυρία.
7 λέγεται δὲ μηδὲ γνήσιος φῦναι, λαβεῖν δ' αὐτὸν ἡ συνοικοῦσα τῷ Φιλίππῳ νεογνὸν ἀκεστρίας τινὸς Ἀργολικῆς Γναθαινίου τοὔνομα τεκούσης, καὶ λαθεῖν ὑποβαλομένη. δι' ὃ καὶ μάλιστα

satisfied with meat and drink than of a man possessed of courage and spirit, he turned his thoughts to war, and made his arrangements for it in secrecy and with cunning. Thus, those of his cities which lay on the highroads and the seashore he suffered to become weak and rather desolate, so as to awaken contempt, while in the interior he was collecting a large force; he also filled the fortresses, strongholds, and cities of the interior with an abundance of arms, money, and men fit for service, in this way preparing himself for the war, and yet keeping it hidden away, as it were, and concealed. Thus, he had arms to equip thirty thousand men laid up in reserve, eight million bushels of grain had been immured in his strongholds, and a sum of money sufficient to maintain for ten years ten thousand mercenaries fighting in defence of the country.

But Philip, before he could put these plans and preparations into effect, died of grief and anguish of mind[1]; for he came to know that he had unjustly put to death one of his sons, Demetrius, on false charges made by the other, who was his inferior. The son, however, whom he left, Perseus, along with his father's kingdom, inherited his hatred of the Romans, but was not equal to the burden because of the littleness and baseness of his character, in which, among all sorts of passions and distempers, avarice was the chief trait. And it is said that he was not even a true-born son, but that Philip's wife took him at his birth from his mother, a certain sempstress, an Argive woman named Gnathaenion, and passed him off as her own. And this was the chief reason, as it would seem, why he feared Demetrius

[1] In 179 B.C.

δοκεῖ τὸν Δημήτριον φοβηθεὶς ἀποκτεῖναι, μὴ γνήσιον ἔχων ὁ οἶκος διάδοχον ἀποκαλύψῃ τὴν ἐκείνου νοθείαν.

IX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, καίπερ ὢν ἀγεννὴς καὶ ταπεινός, ὑπὸ ῥώμης τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφερόμενος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔστη καὶ διηρείσατο πολὺν χρόνον, ἡγεμόνας τε Ῥωμαίων ὑπατικοὺς καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ στόλους μεγάλους ἀποτρι-
2 ψάμενος, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ κρατήσας. Πόπλιόν τε γὰρ Λικίννιον ἐμβαλόντα πρῶτον εἰς Μακεδονίαν τρεψάμενος ἱππομαχίᾳ δισχιλίους πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ζῶντας ἄλλους ἑξακοσίους ἔλαβε, τοῦ τε ναυστάθμου περὶ Ὠρεὸν ὁρμοῦντος ἀπροσδόκητον ἐπίπλουν θέμενος εἴκοσι μὲν αὐτοφόρτους ὁλκάδας ἐχειρώσατο, τὰς δ' ἄλλας σίτου γεμούσας κατέδυσεν· ἐκράτησε δὲ
3 καὶ πεντηρικὰ τέσσαρα. καὶ μάχην ἐπολέμησε τὸ δεύτερον, ἐν ᾗ τὸν ὑπατικὸν Ὀστίλιον ἀπεκρούσατο καταβιαζόμενον[1] κατὰ τὰς Ἐλιμίας· λάθρα δὲ διὰ Θεσσαλίας ἐμβαλόντα προκαλούμενος εἰς μάχην ἐφόβησε. πάρεργον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου στρατείαν ἐπὶ Δαρδανεῖς θέμενος, ὡς δὴ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπερορῶν καὶ σχολάζων, μυρίους τῶν βαρβάρων κατέκοψε καὶ λείαν ἠλάσατο
4 πολλήν. ὑπεκίνει δὲ καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον ᾠκημένους, οἳ Βαστέρναι[2] καλοῦνται, στρατὸν ἱππότην καὶ μάχιμον, Ἰλλυριούς τε διὰ Γενθίου τοῦ βασιλέως παρεκάλει συνεφάψασθαι

[1] *καταβιαζόμενον* Coraës and Sintenis, after Bryan, for the *καὶ βιαζόμενον* of the MSS., where Bekker brackets *καί*.
[2] *οἳ Βαστέρναι* Coraës and Bekker, after Stephanus: *Βαστέρναι*.

and compassed his death, lest the royal house having a true-born heir to the throne, should uncover his own spurious birth.

IX. However, although he was ignoble and mean, the strength of his position led him to undertake the war, and he kept up the struggle for a long time, repulsing Roman commanders of consular rank with great armies and fleets, and actually conquering some of them. Publius Licinius, for example, who was the first that invaded Macedonia, he routed in a cavalry battle, slew twenty-five hundred good men, and took six hundred prisoners besides; then he made an unexpected attack upon the Roman fleet which was lying at anchor near Oreus, seized twenty ships of burden with their cargoes, and sank the rest together with the grain that filled them; he also made himself master of four quinqueremes. He fought a second battle, too, in which he repulsed the consul Hostilius as he was trying to force his way into Macedonia at Elimiae; and after Hostilius had broken into the country undetected by way of Thessaly, he gave him a challenge to battle which he was afraid to accept. Furthermore, as a side issue of the war, he made an expedition against the Dardanians, implying that he ignored the Romans and that time hung heavy on his hands; he cut to pieces ten thousand of the Barbarians and drove off much booty. He also secretly stirred up the Gauls settled along the Danube, who are called Bisternae, an equestrian host and warlike; and he invited the Illyrians, through Genthius their king, to take part with him

τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ λόγος κατέσχεν ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων μισθῷ πεπεισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς κάτω Γαλατίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

X. Ταῦτα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πυνθανομένοις ἐδόκει τὰς τῶν στρατηγιώντων χάριτας καὶ παραγγελίας ἐάσαντας αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἄνδρα νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι μεγάλοις ἐπιστάμενον. οὗτος ἦν Παῦλος Αἰμίλιος, ἡλικίας μὲν ἤδη πρόσω καὶ περὶ ἑξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη, ῥώμῃ δὲ σώματος ἀκμάζων, πεφραγμένος δὲ κηδεσταῖς καὶ παισὶ νεανίαις καὶ φίλων πλήθει καὶ συγγενῶν μέγα δυναμένων, οἳ πάντες αὐτὸν ὑπακοῦσαι καλοῦντι τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν
2 ἔπειθον. ὁ δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐθρύπτετο πρὸς 260
τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ διέκλινε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σπουδήν, ὡς μὴ δεόμενος τοῦ ἄρχειν, φοιτώντων δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ καταβοώντων ἐπείσθη· καὶ φανεὶς εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς μετιοῦσι τὴν ὑπατείαν ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἀρχὴν ληψόμενος, ἀλλὰ νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου κομίζων καὶ διδοὺς τοῖς πολίταις
3 καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ πεδίον· μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐλπίδος καὶ προθυμίας ἐδέξαντο πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ κατέστησαν ὕπατον τὸ δεύτερον, οὐκ ἐάσαντες κλῆρον γενέσθαι, καθάπερ εἰώθει, περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐκείνῳ ψηφισάμενοι τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. λέγεται δ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἀνηγορεύθη κατὰ τοῦ Περσέως στρατηγός, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς οἴκαδε προπεμφθέντα λαμπρῶς εὑρεῖν τὸ θυγάτριον τὴν Τερτίαν δεδα-

in the war. And a report prevailed that the Barbarians had been hired by him to pass through lower Gaul, along the coast of the Adriatic, and make an incursion into Italy.

X. When the Romans learned of these things, they decided that they would bid good-bye to the favours and promises of those who wanted to be generals, and themselves summon to the leadership a man of wisdom who understood how to manage great affairs. This man was Paulus Aemilius, now advanced in life and about sixty years of age, but in the prime of bodily vigour, and hedged about with youthful sons and sons-in-law, and with a host of friends and kinsmen of great influence, all of whom urged him to give ear to the people when it summoned him to the consulship. At first he was for declining the appeals of the multitude, and tried to avert their eager importunities, saying that he did not want office; but when they came daily to his house and called him forth into the forum and pressed him with their clamours, he yielded; and when he presented himself at once among the candidates for the consulship, he did not appear to come into the Campus in order to get office, but as one who brought victory and might in war and offered them to the citizens. With such eager hopes did all receive him, and they made him consul for the second time,[1] and did not permit a lot to be cast for the provinces, as was the custom, but at once voted him the conduct of the Macedonian war. And it is said that when he had been appointed general against Perseus, and had been escorted home in splendid fashion by the whole people, he found there his daughter Tertia, who was still a little child,

[1] In 168 B.C.

4 κρυμένην ἔτι παιδίον οὖσαν· ἀσπαζόμενον οὖν αὐτὴν ἐρωτᾶν ἐφ' ὅτῳ λελύπηται· τὴν δὲ περιβαλοῦσαν καὶ καταφιλοῦσαν, "Οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα," εἰπεῖν, "ὦ πάτερ, ὅτι ἡμῖν ὁ Περσεὺς τέθνηκε;" λέγουσαν κυνίδιον σύντροφον οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον· καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον "Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ," φάναι, "ὦ θύγατερ, καὶ δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνόν." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ μαντικῆς ἱστόρηκεν.

XI. Εἰωθότων δὲ τῶν ὑπατείαν λαβόντων οἷον ἀνθομολογεῖσθαί τινα χάριν καὶ προσαγορεύειν φιλοφρόνως τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, Αἰμίλιος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν μὲν προτέραν ὑπατείαν μετελθεῖν ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀρχῆς δεόμενος, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἐκείνων στρατηγοῦ
2 δεομένων· δι' ὃ μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς χάριν ἔχειν, ἀλλ', εἰ νομίζουσι δι' ἑτέρου βέλτιον ἕξειν τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἰ δὲ πιστεύουσιν αὐτῷ, μὴ παραστρατηγεῖν μηδὲ λογοποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπουργεῖν σιωπῇ τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς, ἐὰν ἄρχοντος ἄρχειν ζητῶσιν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν καταγελάστους ἐν ταῖς
3 στρατείαις ἐσομένους. ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων πολλὴν μὲν αἰδῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεποίησε τοῖς πολίταις, μεγάλην δὲ προσδοκίαν τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἡδομένων ἁπάντων ὅτι τοὺς κολακεύοντας παρελθόντες εἵλοντο παρρησίαν ἔχοντα καὶ φρόνημα στρατηγόν. οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεῖν καὶ μέγιστος εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ δοῦλος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος.

XII. Αἰμίλιον δὲ Παῦλον, ὡς ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ

in tears. He took her in his arms, therefore, and asked her why she grieved. And she, embracing and kissing him, said: "Pray dost thou not know, Father, that our Perseus is dead?" meaning a little pet dog of that name. And Aemilius cried: "Good fortune! my daughter, I accept the omen." Such, then, is the story which Cicero the orator relates in his work "On Divination."[1]

XI. It was the custom for those who obtained the consulship to return thanks, as it were, for the great favour in a friendly speech to the people from the rostra; but Aemilius, having gathered an assembly of the citizens, said he had sued for his first consulship because he himself wanted office, but for his second because they wanted a general; wherefore he was under no obligation to them; on the contrary, if they thought the war would be carried on better by another, he resigned the conduct of it; but if they had confidence in him they must not make themselves his colleagues in command, nor indulge in rhetoric about the war, but quietly furnish the necessary supplies for it, since, if they sought to command their commander, their campaigns would be still more ridiculous than they were already. By these words he inspired the citizens with great reverence for himself, and with great expectations of the future, and all were glad that they had passed by the flatterers and chosen a general who had resolution and frankness of speech. Thus was the Roman people, to the end that it might prevail and be greatest in the world, a servant of virtue and honour.

XII. Now, that Aemilius Paulus, after setting out

[1] Cicero, *De divinatione*, 46.

στρατείαν, πλοῦ μὲν εὐτυχίᾳ καὶ ῥᾳστώνῃ χρήσασθαι πορείας κατὰ δαίμονα τίθημι, σὺν τάχει καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κομισθέντα· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τόλμης ὀξύτητι, τὸ δὲ βουλεύμασι χρηστοῖς, τὸ δὲ φίλων ἐκθύμοις ὑπηρεσίαις, τὸ δὲ τῷ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ θαρρεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαι λογισμοῖς ἀραρόσιν ὁρῶν διαπεπραγμένον, οὐκ ἔχω τῇ λεγομένῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίᾳ λαμπρὸν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ διάσημον ἔργον οἷον ἑτέρων στρατηγῶν.
2 εἰ μή τις ἄρα τὴν Περσέως φιλαργυρίαν Αἰμιλίῳ τύχην ἀγαθὴν περὶ τὰ πράγματα γενέσθαι φησίν, ἣ λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρθέντα ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὰ Μακεδόνων ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέβαλε, πρὸς ἀργύριον ἀποδειλιάσαντος. ἧκον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ δεηθέντι Βαστέρναι, μύριοι μὲν ἱππεῖς, μύριοι δὲ παραβάται, μισθοφόροι πάντες, ἄνδρες οὐ γεωργεῖν εἰδότες, οὐ πλεῖν, οὐκ ἀπὸ ποιμνίων ζῆν νέμοντες, ἀλλ' ἓν ἔργον καὶ μίαν τέχνην μελετῶντες ἀεὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιταττομένων.
3 ὡς δὲ περὶ τὴν Μαιδικὴν καταστρατοπεδεύσαντες ἐπεμίγνυντο τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα, θαυμαστοὶ δὲ τὰς μελέτας, μεγάλαυχοι δὲ καὶ λαμπροὶ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειλαῖς, θάρσος παρέστησαν τοῖς Μακέδοσι καὶ δόξαν ὡς τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐχ ὑπομενούντων, ἀλλ' ἐκπλαγησο- 261
μένων τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἔκφυλον οὖσαν καὶ δυσπρόσοπτον.
4 οὕτω διαθεὶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ τοιούτων ἐμπλήσας ἐλπίδων, αἰτούμενος καθ' ἕκαστον ἡγεμόνα χιλί-

upon his campaign, had a fortunate voyage and an easy passage and came speedily and safely to the Roman camp, I attribute to the favour of Heaven; but when I see that the war under his command was brought to an end partly by his fierce courage, partly by his excellent plans, partly by the eager assistance of his friends, and partly by his resolute adoption of fitting conclusions in times of danger, I cannot assign his remarkable and brilliant success to his celebrated good fortune, as I can in the case of other generals. Unless, indeed, it be said that the avaricious conduct of Perseus was good fortune for Aemilius, since it utterly subverted the great and brilliant prospects of the Macedonians for the war (wherein their hopes ran high), because Perseus played the coward with his money. For there came to him from the Bisternae, at his request, ten thousand horsemen with ten thousand men to run at their sides, all professional soldiers, men who knew not how to plough or to sail the seas, who did not follow the life of herdsmen, but who were ever practising one business and one art, that of fighting and conquering their antagonists. And when these had encamped in Maedica and mingled with the soldiers of the king,—men of lofty stature, admirable in their discipline, great boasters, and loud in their threats against their enemies,—they inspired the Macedonians with courage and a belief that the Romans could not withstand them, but would be utterly terrified by their looks and movements, which were strange and repulsive. But after Perseus had disposed the feelings of his men in this way and filled them with so great hopes, upon being asked to pay each captain of the mercenaries a

ους, πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον τοῦ χρυσίου πλῆθος
ἰλιγγιάσας καὶ παραφρονήσας ὑπὸ μικρολογίας
ἀπείπατο καὶ προήκατο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὥσπερ
οἰκονομῶν, οὐ πολεμῶν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ λογισμὸν
ἀποδώσων ἀκριβῆ τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον δαπάνης
οἷς ἐπολέμει· καίτοι διδασκάλους εἶχεν ἐκείνους,
οἷς ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς στρατιωτῶν δέκα
μυριάδες ἦσαν ἠθροισμέναι καὶ παρεστῶσαι ταῖς
5 χρείαις. ὁ δὲ πρὸς δύναμιν ἀνταίρων τηλικαύτην
καὶ πόλεμον οὗ τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ παρατρεφόμενον,
διεμέτρει καὶ παρεσημαίνετο τὸ χρυσίον, ἅψασθαι
δεδιὼς ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν
οὐ Λυδῶν τις οὐδὲ Φοινίκων γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ τῆς
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου κατὰ συγγένειαν ἀρε-
τῆς μεταποιούμενος, οἳ τῷ τὰ πράγματα τῶν
χρημάτων ὠνητά, μὴ τὰ χρήματα τῶν πραγμάτων
6 ἡγεῖσθαι πάντων ἐκράτησαν. ἐρρέθη γοῦν ὅτι
τὰς πόλεις αἱρεῖ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ Φίλιππος,
ἀλλὰ τὸ Φιλίππου χρυσίον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς
ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς στρατείας ἁπτόμενος, καὶ βαρὺν ὁρῶν
καὶ δύσογκον ἤδη τὸν Περσικὸν ἐφελκομένους
πλοῦτον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, πρώτας ὑπέπρησε τὰς
βασιλικὰς ἁμάξας, εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεισε ταὐτὸ
ποιήσαντας ἐλαφροὺς ἀναζεῦξαι πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
7 μον ὥσπερ λελυμένους. Περσεὺς δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν
αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ καὶ τέκνων καὶ βασιλείας κατα-
χεάμενος οὐκ ἠθέλησε δι' ὀλίγων σωθῆναι χρη-
μάτων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν κομισθεὶς ὁ πλούσιος

thousand pieces, he was bewildered and crazed at the amount of gold required, and out of parsimony renounced and abandoned the alliance, as if he were a steward, rather than a foe, of the Romans, and was to give an exact account of his expenditures for the war to those against whom he waged it; and yet he had his foes to give him lessons, for, apart from their other preparations, they had a hundred thousand men assembled and ready for their needs. But he, though contending against so large a force, and in a war where such large reserves were maintained, measured out his gold and sealed it up in bags, as afraid to touch it as if it had belonged to others. And this he did although he was no Lydian or Phoenician born, but laid claim to a share in the virtues of Alexander and Philip, whose descendant he was,—men who mastered the world through their belief that empire was to be bought with money, not money with empire. At all events, it was a common saying that the cities of Greece were taken, not by Philip, but by Philip's money. And Alexander, when he was starting on his expedition to India, and saw that his Macedonians were dragging along after them their Persian wealth, which was already burdensome and heavy, set fire to the royal baggage-waggons first, and then persuaded his followers to do the same with theirs, and to set out for the war in light marching order, like men released from bondage. But Perseus would not consent to pour out his gold upon himself, his children, and his kingdom, and thus purchase salvation with a small part of his treasures, but chose to be carried with many treasures as the wealthy captive, and to show the

αἰχμάλωτος ἐπιδείξασθαι Ῥωμαίοις ὅσα φεισάμενος ἐτήρησεν αὐτοῖς.

XIII. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀπέπεμψε τοὺς Γαλάτας ψευσάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Γένθιον ἐπάρας τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις συνεφάψασθαι τοῦ πολέμου τὰ μὲν χρήματα τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσι προὔθηκεν ἠριθμημένα καὶ κατασημήνασθαι παρέσχεν· ὡς δὲ πεισθεὶς ἔχειν ἃ ᾔτησεν ὁ Γένθιος ἔργον ἀσεβὲς καὶ δεινὸν ἔδρασε (πρέσβεις γὰρ ἐλθόντας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν
2 συνέλαβε καὶ κατέδησεν), ἡγούμενος ὁ Περσεὺς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσθαι τῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐκπολέμωσιν, ἄλυτα τοῦ Γενθίου προδεδωκότος ἔχθρας ἐνέχυρα καὶ διὰ τηλικαύτης ἀδικίας ἐμβεβληκότος ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀπεστέρησε τὸν κακοδαίμονα τῶν τριακοσίων ταλάντων, καὶ περιεῖδεν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς ὡς ἀπὸ νεοττιᾶς ἀρθέντα τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ Λευκίου Ἀνικίου στρατηγοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως.
3 Ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον ἀντίπαλον ἐλθὼν ὁ Αἰμίλιος αὐτοῦ μὲν κατεφρόνει, τὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐθαύμαζεν. ἦσαν γὰρ ἱππεῖς μὲν τετρακισχίλιοι, πεζοὶ δ' εἰς φάλαγγα τετρακισμυρίων οὐ πολλοῖς ἀποδέοντες. ἱδρυμένος δὲ πρὸ τῆς θαλάττης παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν ὑπώρειαν ἐπὶ χωρίων οὐδαμόθεν προσαγωγὴν ἐχόντων καὶ πάντοθεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπεφραγμένων ἐρύμασι καὶ προτειχίσμασι ξυλίνοις πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἦγεν, ἀποτρύσειν χρόνῳ καὶ χρημάτων
4 δαπάνῃ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἡγούμενος. ὁ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ μὲν ἦν ἐνεργὸς ἐπὶ πᾶν βούλευμα καὶ πᾶσαν τρεπόμενος πεῖραν, ὑπ' ἀδείας δὲ τῆς πρόσθεν

Romans how much he had saved and watched for them.

XIII. For he not only sent away the Gauls after playing them false, but also, after inducing Genthius the Illyrian, on payment of three hundred talents, to assist him in the war, he showed to the king's messengers the money all counted out, and suffered them to put their seals upon the bags; then, when Genthius, convinced that he had the price he had asked, committed a dreadful and impious deed, arresting and imprisoning a Roman embassy that had been sent to him, Perseus, thinking that the money was no longer needed to make Genthius an enemy of Rome, since before getting it he had given a lasting earnest of his hatred and had involved himself in the war by the great wrong which he had done, deprived the poor wretch of the three hundred talents, and suffered him in a little while to be taken from his kingdom with his wife and children, as birds from their nest, by Lucius Anicius, a general sent against him with an army.

Aemilius, coming against such an adversary, scorned him indeed, but admired his preparations and his army. For Perseus had four thousand horsemen, and not much fewer than forty thousand heavy-armed footmen. And planting himself with the sea behind him, along the foot-hills of Mount Olympus, on ground which nowhere afforded an approach, and which had been fortified on all sides by him with bulwarks and outworks of wood, he lay in great security, thinking that by delay and expense he would wear out Aemilius. But Aemilius was a man who clung to his purpose, and tested every plan and method of attack; seeing, however, that his

τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶν δυσανασχετοῦντα καὶ λόγῳ πολλὰ διαστρατηγοῦντα τῶν ἀπράκτων, ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ παρήγγειλε μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδὲ φροντίζειν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν ἕκαστον ὅπως ἐνεργὸν παρέξει καὶ χρήσεται Ῥωμαϊκῶς τῇ μαχαίρᾳ, τὸν καιρὸν
5 παραδόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς 262
ἐκέλευσε φυλακὰς ἄνευ λόγχης φυλάττειν, ὡς μᾶλλον προσέξοντας καὶ διαμαχουμένους πρὸς τὸν ὕπνον, ἂν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δύνωνται προσιόντας.

XIV. Ἐνοχλουμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα περὶ τὴν τοῦ ποτοῦ χρείαν (καὶ γὰρ ὀλίγον καὶ πονηρὸν ἐπίδυε καὶ συνελείβετο παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν θάλατταν), ὁρῶν ὁ Αἰμίλιος μέγα καὶ κατηρεφὲς δένδρεσιν ὄρος τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἐπικείμενον, καὶ τεκμαιρόμενος τῇ χλωρότητι τῆς ὕλης ναμάτων ἔχειν ἀρχὰς διὰ βάθους ὑποφερομένων, ἀναπνοὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ φρέατα πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν
2 ὑπώρειαν ὤρυττε. τὰ δ' εὐθὺς ἐπίμπλατο ῥευμάτων καθαρῶν, ἐπισυνδιδόντων ὁλκῇ καὶ φορᾷ τοῦ θλιβομένου πρὸς τὸ κενούμενον.

Καίτοι τινὲς οὔ φασιν ὑδάτων ἑτοίμων κεκρυμμένων πηγὰς ἐναποκεῖσθαι τοῖς τόποις ἐξ ὧν ῥέουσιν, οὐδ' ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδὲ ῥῆξιν εἶναι τὴν ἐκβολὴν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ γένεσιν καὶ σύστασιν ἐνταῦθα τῆς ὕλης ἐξυγραινομένης· ἐξυγραίνεσθαι δὲ πυκνότητι καὶ ψυχρότητι τὴν νοτερὰν ἀνα-

army, by reason of their former license, was impatient of delay, and inclined to dictate to their general many impracticable things, he rebuked them, and instructed them to take no thought or concern for anything, except how each man might keep himself and his armour in readiness for action, and ply his sword in Roman fashion, when their general gave them the opportunity. Furthermore, he ordered the night watchmen to keep watch without their spears, with the idea that they would be more on the alert and would struggle more successfully against sleep, if they were unable to defend themselves against their enemies when they approached.

XIV. But his men were annoyed especially by the lack of drinking water, since only a little of it issued forth and collected in pools at the very edge of the sea, and that was bad. Aemilius, therefore, seeing that the lofty and wooded mountain of Olympus lay near, and judging from the greenness of its trees that there were veins of water coursing under ground, dug a number of vents and wells for them along the foot of the mountain. These were at once filled with streams of pure water, which, under the weight and impulse of the pressure that was upon them, discharged themselves into the vacuum afforded.

And yet some deny that stores of ready water lie hidden away beneath the places from which springs flow, and that they merely come to light or force a passage when they issue forth; they hold rather that the water is generated and comes into existence then and there through the liquefaction of matter, and that moist vapour is liquefied by density and cold,

θυμίασιν, ὅταν ἐν βάθει καταθλιβεῖσα ῥευστικὴ
3 γένηται. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ μαστοὶ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖα πλήρεις εἰσὶν ἐπιρρέοντος ἑτοίμου γάλακτος, ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν τροφὴν ἐν αὑτοῖς ἐργάζονται γάλα καὶ διηθοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ περίψυκτοι καὶ πιδακώδεις τόποι τῆς γῆς ὕδωρ μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσι καλυπτόμενον, οὐδὲ κόλπους ῥεύματα καὶ βάθη ποταμῶν τοσούτων ἐξ ἑτοίμης καὶ ὑποκειμένης ἀφιέντας ἀρχῆς, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τῷ πιέζειν καὶ καταπυ-
4 κνοῦν ἀποθλίβοντες εἰς ὕδωρ τρέπουσι. τὰ γοῦν ὀρυττόμενα τῶν χωρίων μᾶλλον ἀναπιδύει καὶ διανάει πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ψηλάφησιν, ὥσπερ οἱ μαστοὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πρὸς τὸν θηλασμόν, ἀνυγραίνοντα καὶ μαλάττοντα τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν· ὅσα δ' ἀργὰ τῆς γῆς συμπέφρακται, τυφλὰ πρὸς γένεσιν ὑδάτων ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐργαζομένην
5 τὸ ὑγρὸν κίνησιν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπιχειρεῖν δεδώκασι τοῖς ἀπορητικοῖς, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῖς ζῴοις ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ γεννᾶται πρὸς τὰ τραύματα πνεύματός τινος ἢ σαρκῶν μεταβολῇ, ῥύσιν ἀπεργασαμένῃ καὶ σύντηξιν. ἐλέγχονται δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ὑπονόμους καὶ τὰς μεταλλείας ἀπαντῶσιν εἰς βάθη ποταμοῖς, οὐ κατ' ὀλίγον συλλεγομένοις, ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστιν εἰ γένεσιν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα κινουμένης τῆς γῆς λαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόοις ἀναχεομένοις. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ πέτρας πληγῇ ῥαγείσης ἐξεπήδησε ῥεῦμα λάβρον ὕδατος, εἶτα ἐπέλιπε. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων.

whenever, that is, it is compressed in the depths of earth and becomes fluid. For, they argue, just as the breasts of women are not, like vessels, full of ready milk which flows out, but by converting the nourishment that is in them produce milk and strain it out; so those places in the ground which are chilly and full of springs do not have hidden water, nor reservoirs which send forth the currents and deep waters of all our rivers from a source that is ready at hand, but by forcibly compressing and condensing vapour and air, they convert them into water. At all events, those places which are dug open gush and flow more freely in response to such manipulation, just as the breasts of women do in response to sucking, because they moisten and soften the vapours; whereas all places in the ground which are packed tight and unworked, are incapable of generating water, since they have not been subjected to the agitation which produces moisture. But those who hold this doctrine give the sceptical occasion to object that, on this reasoning, there is no blood in living creatures, but it is generated in response to wounds by a transformation of some vapour or flesh, which causes its liquefaction and flow. Moreover, they are refuted by the experience of men who dig mines, either for sieges or for metals, and in the depths encounter rivers of water, which are not gradually collected, as must naturally be the case if they come into existence at the instant that the earth is agitated, but pour fourth in a great mass. And again, when a mountain or rock is smitten asunder, a fierce torrent of water often gushes forth, and then ceases entirely. So much on this head.

XV. Ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἠρέμει,
καί φασι μήποτε τηλικούτων στρατοπέδων ἐγγὺς
οὕτω συνελθόντων ἡσυχίαν γενέσθαι τοσαύτην.
ἐπεὶ δὲ κινῶν ἅπαντα καὶ πειρώμενος ἐπυνθάνετο
μίαν εἰσβολὴν ἔτι μόνον ἄφρουρον ἀπολείπεσθαι,
τὴν διὰ Περραιβίας παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὴν
Πέτραν, τῷ μὴ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τόπον ἐλπίσας
μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐφυλάττετο δυσχωρίαν καὶ
2 τραχύτητα δείσας ἐβουλεύετο. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν
παρόντων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος Σκηπίων,
γαμβρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκηπίωνος, ὕστερον δὲ μέ-
γιστον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυνηθείς, ὑπεδέξατο τῆς
κυκλώσεως ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι. δεύτερος δὲ Φάβιος
Μάξιμος, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Αἰμιλίου παίδων,
3 ἔτι μειράκιον ὤν, ἀνέστη προθυμούμενος. ἡσθεὶς
οὖν ὁ Αἰμίλιος δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὅσους Πολύ-
βιος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλ' ὅσους αὐτὸς ὁ Νασικᾶς λαβεῖν
φησι, γεγραφὼς περὶ τῶν πράξεων τούτων ἐπι-
στόλιον πρός τινα τῶν βασιλέων, οἱ μὲν ἐκτὸς
τάξεως Ἰταλικοὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν, τὸ
4 δ' εὐώνυμον κέρας εἰς πεντακισχιλίους. τούτοις 263
προσλαβὼν ὁ Νασικᾶς ἱππεῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καὶ
τῶν παρ' Ἁρπάλῳ Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Κρητῶν ἀναμεμι-
γμένων διακοσίους, ἐξώρμησε τῇ πρὸς θάλασσαν
ὁδῷ, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον,
ὡς δὴ ταῖς ναυσὶ μέλλων ἐκπεριπλεῖν καὶ κυ-
5 κλοῦσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπεὶ δ'
ἐδείπνησαν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο,
τοῖς ἡγεμόσι φράσας τὸ ἀληθὲς ἦγε διὰ νυκτὸς

XV. Aemilius kept still for several days, and they say that never was there such quiet when armies of such size had come so close together. But when, as he was trying and considering everything, he learned that there was one passage and one only that still remained unguarded, namely, the one through Perrhaebia past the Pythium and Petra, he conceived more hope from the fact that the place was left unguarded than fear from the roughness and difficulty of it which caused it to be so left, and held a council of war upon the matter. Among those present at the council, Scipio, surnamed Nasica, a son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, and afterwards of the greatest influence in the senate, was first to offer himself as leader of the enveloping force. And second, Fabius Maximus, the eldest of the sons of Aemilius, though he was still a young man, eagerly volunteered. Aemilius, accordingly, delighted, gave them, not as many men as Polybius states,[1] but as many as Nasica himself says they took, in a short letter which he wrote concerning these exploits to one of the kings, that is, three thousand of his Italians who were not Romans, and his left wing numbering five thousand. In addition to these, Nasica took a hundred and twenty horsemen, besides two hundred of the mixed Thracians and Cretans with Harpalus, set out on the road towards the sea, and encamped by the Heracleum, as though he intended to sail round by sea and envelope the camp of the enemy. But when his soldiers had taken supper and darkness had come, he told his chief officers his real design, and then led his forces by night in the opposite direction, away from the sea,

[1] In a lost portion of Book XXIX.

τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀπὸ θαλάττης, καὶ καταλύσας ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπὸ τὸ Πύθιον. ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ὀλύμπου τὸ ὕψος ἀνατείνει πλέον ἢ δέκα σταδίους· σημαίνεται δὲ ἐπιγράμματι τοῦ μετρήσαντος οὕτως·

6 Οὐλύμπου κορυφῆς ἔπι Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος
ἱερὸν ὕψος ἔχει, πρὸς κάθετον δὲ μέτρον,[1]
πλήρη μὲν δεκάδα σταδίων μίαν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῇ
πλέθρον τετραπέδῳ λειπόμενον μεγέθει.
Εὐμήλου δέ μιν υἱὸς ἐθήκατο μέτρα κελεύθου
Ξειναγόρης· σὺ δ', ἄναξ, χαῖρε καὶ ἐσθλὰ δίδου.

7 καίτοι λέγουσιν οἱ γεωμετρικοὶ μήτε ὄρους ὕψος μήτε βάθος θαλάσσης ὑπερβάλλειν δέκα σταδίους. ὁ μέντοι Ξεναγόρας οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ μεθόδῳ καὶ δι' ὀργάνων εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ τὴν μέτρησιν.

XVI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νασικᾶς ἐνταῦθα διενυκτέρευσε· τῷ δὲ Περσεῖ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἀτρεμοῦντα κατὰ χώραν ὁρῶντι καὶ μὴ λογιζομένῳ τὸ γινόμενον ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ Κρὴς αὐτόμολος ἧκε μηνύων τὴν περίοδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ὁ δὲ συνταραχθεὶς τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐκίνησε, μυρίους δὲ μισθοφόρους ξένους καὶ δισχιλίους Μακεδόνας Μίλωνι παραδοὺς ἐξαπέστειλε, παρακελευσάμενος ταχῦναι καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰς ὑπερ-
2 βολάς. τούτοις ὁ μὲν Πολύβιός φησιν ἔτι κοιμωμένοις ἐπιπεσεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς

[1] πρὸς . . . μέτρον a correction suggested by Sintenis (and adopted by Bekker) of the unmetrical πρὸς τὴν κάθετον δ' ἐμετρήθη of the MSS.

and halted below the Pythium, where he gave his army a rest. From this point Olympus rises to a height of more than ten furlongs, as is signified in an inscription by the man who measured it:—

> "The sacred peak of Olympus, at Apollo's Pythium, has a height, in perpendicular measurement, of ten full furlongs, and besides, a hundred feet lacking only four. It was the son of Eumelus who measured the distance, Xenagoras; so fare thee well, O King, and be propitious in thy gifts."

And yet the geometricians say that no mountain has a height, and no sea a depth, of more than ten furlongs. It would seem, however, that Xenagoras took his measurement, not carelessly, but according to rule and with instruments.

XVI. Here, then, Nasica passed the night; but to Perseus, who did not infer what was going on because he saw Aemilius remaining quietly in his position, there came a Cretan deserter who had run away on the march, bringing him news of the circuit which the Romans had taken. Though Perseus was confounded at this, he did not move his camp, but sent out ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under Milo, with orders to make haste and occupy the passes. These men, according to Polybius,[1] were still asleep when the Romans fell upon them; but Nasica says that a

[1] In a lost portion of Book XXIX.

ὀξὺν ἀγῶνα περὶ τοῖς ἄκροις γενέσθαι καὶ κίνδυνον, αὐτὸς δὲ Θρᾷκα μισθοφόρον εἰς χεῖρας συνδραμόντα τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τοῦ στήθους πατάξας καταβαλεῖν, ἐκβιασθέντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τοῦ Μίλωνος αἴσχιστα φεύγοντος ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων μονοχίτωνος, ἀσφαλῶς ἀκολουθεῖν, ἅμα καταβιβάζων εἰς τὴν χώραν τὸ στράτευμα.

3 Τούτων δὲ τῷ Περσεῖ προσπεσόντων κατὰ τάχος ἀναζεύξας ἦγεν ὀπίσω, περίφοβος γεγονὼς καὶ συγκεχυμένος ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. αὐτοῦ δ' ὅμως πρὸ τῆς Πύδνης ὑπομένοντα πειρᾶσθαι μάχης ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἢ τῷ στρατῷ σκεδασθέντι περὶ τὰς πόλεις δέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπείπερ ἅπαξ ἐμβέβηκε τῇ χώρᾳ, δίχα πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ
4 νεκρῶν ἐκπεσεῖν μὴ δυνάμενον. πλήθει μὲν οὖν ἀνδρῶν αὐτόθεν περιεῖναι, προθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν ὑπάρχειν ἀμυνομένοις περὶ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐφορῶντος ἕκαστα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ προκινδυνεύοντος. ἐκ τούτων ἐθάρσυνον οἱ φίλοι τὸν Περσέα· καὶ βαλόμενος στρατόπεδον συνετάττετο πρὸς μάχην, καὶ τὰ χωρία κατεσκοπεῖτο, καὶ διῄρει τὰς ἡγεμονίας, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου τοῖς
5 Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντήσων. ὁ δὲ τόπος καὶ πεδίον ἦν τῇ φάλαγγι βάσεως ἐπιπέδου καὶ χωρίων ὁμαλῶν δεομένῃ, καὶ λόφοι συνεχεῖς ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλου τοῖς γυμνητεύουσι καὶ ψιλοῖς ἀναφυγὰς καὶ περιδρομὰς ἔχοντες. διὰ μέσου δὲ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες Αἴσων καὶ Λεῦκος οὐ μάλα βαθεῖς τότε (θέρους γὰρ ἦν

sharp and perilous conflict took place for possession of the heights, and that he himself slew a Thracian mercenary, who engaged him, by striking him through the breast with his javelin, and that after the enemy had been driven away, and while Milo was flying most disgracefully without his armour or his cloak, he followed after them without danger, and brought his army with him down into the plain.

After this disaster, Perseus hastily broke camp and retired; he had become exceedingly fearful, and his hopes were shattered. But nevertheless he was under the necessity of standing his ground there in front of Pydna and risking a battle, or else of scattering his army about among the cities and so awaiting the issue of the war, which, now that it had once made its way into his country, could not be driven out without much bloodshed and slaughter. In the number of his men, then, he was superior where he was, and they would fight with great ardour in defence of their wives and children, and with their king beholding all their actions and risking life in their behalf. With such arguments his friends encouraged Perseus. So he pitched a camp and arranged his forces for battle, examining the field and distributing his commands, purposing to confront the Romans as soon as they came up. The place afforded a plain for his phalanx, which required firm standing and smooth ground, and there were hills succeeding one another continuously, which gave his skirmishers and light-armed troops opportunity for retreat and flank attack. Moreover, through the middle of it ran the rivers Aeson and Leucus, which were not very deep at that time (for it was the latter end of summer),

ὥρα φθίνοντος) ἐδόκουν τινὰ δυσεργίαν ὅμως τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις παρέξειν.

XVII. Ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος, ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸν συνέμιξε
τῷ Νασικᾷ, κατέβαινε συντεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους. ὡς δ' εἶδε τὴν παράταξιν αὐτῶν καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος, θαυμάσας ἐπέστησε τὴν πορείαν,
αὐτός τι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συλλογιζόμενος. οἱ δ' ἡγε-
μονικοὶ νεανίσκοι προθυμούμενοι μάχεσθαι παρε-
λαύνοντες ἐδέοντο μὴ μέλλειν, καὶ μάλιστα πάν-
των ὁ Νασικᾶς τῇ περὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον εὐτυχίᾳ
2 τεθαρρηκώς. ὁ δ' Αἰμίλιος, μειδιάσας, "Εἴ γε 264
τὴν σήν," εἶπεν, "ἡλικίαν εἶχον· αἱ δὲ πολλαί
με νῖκαι διδάσκουσαι τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων ἁμαρτή-
ματα, κωλύουσιν ἐξ ὁδοῦ μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὸς
φάλαγγα συντεταγμένην ἤδη καὶ συνεστῶσαν."
ἐκ τούτου τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ καταφανῆ πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐκέλευσεν εἰς σπείρας καθιστάμενα
ποιεῖν σχῆμα παρατάξεως, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' οὐρᾶς
στραφέντας ἐν χώρᾳ χάρακα βαλέσθαι καὶ στρα-
3 τοπεδεύειν. οὕτω δὲ τῶν συνεχῶν τοῖς τελευ-
ταίοις καθ' ὑπαγωγὴν ἐξελιττομένων ἔλαθε τὴν
παράταξιν ἀναλύσας καὶ καταστήσας ἀθορύβως
εἰς τὸν χάρακα πάντας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ νὺξ γεγόνει καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐτρά-
ποντο πρὸς ὕπνον καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν, αἰφνίδιον ἡ
σελήνη πλήρης οὖσα καὶ μετέωρος ἐμελαίνετο καὶ
τοῦ φωτὸς ἀπολιπόντος αὐτὴν χρόας ἀμείψασα
4 παντοδαπὰς ἠφανίσθη. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ὥσπερ
ἐστὶ νενομισμένον, χαλκοῦ τε πατάγοις ἀνακα-
λουμένων τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ δαλοῖς
καὶ δᾳσὶν ἀνεχόντων πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὐδὲν
ὅμοιον ἔπραττον οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ φρίκη καὶ

but were likely, nevertheless, to give the Romans considerable trouble.

XVII. Aemilius, after effecting a junction with Nasica, came down in battle array against the enemy. But when he saw how they were drawn up, and in what numbers, he was amazed, and came to a halt, considering with himself. His young officers, however, who were eager for battle, rode up and begged him not to delay, especially Nasica, who was emboldened by his success at Mount Olympus. But Aemilius, with a smile, said to him: "Yes, if I had thy youth; but many victories teach me the mistakes of the vanquished, and forbid me to join battle, immediately after a march, with a phalanx which is already drawn up and completely formed." After this, he ordered his foremost troops, who were in sight of the enemy, to form into cohorts and give the appearance of a battle line, while the others, wheeling to the rear, dug trenches and marked out a camp. And in this way, the troops next to the last wheeling off in due succession, before the enemy knew it he had broken up his battle line and brought all his men without confusion into their intrenchments.

Now, when night had come, and the soldiers, after supper, were betaking themselves to rest and sleep, on a sudden the moon, which was full and high in the heavens, grew dark, lost its light, took on all sorts of colours in succession, and finally disappeared. The Romans, according to their custom, tried to call her light back by the clashing of bronze utensils and by holding up many blazing fire-brands and torches towards the heavens; the Macedonians, however, did nothing of this sort, but amazement

θάμβος τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεῖχε καὶ λόγος ἡσυχῇ
διὰ πολλῶν ἐχώρει, βασιλέως τὸ φάσμα σημαί-
5 *νειν ἔκλειψιν. ὁ δ'* Αἰμίλιος *οὐκ ἦν μὲν ἀνήκοος*
οὐδ' ἄπειρος παντάπασι τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν ἀνω-
μαλιῶν, αἳ τὴν σελήνην περιφερομένην εἰς τὸ
σκίασμα τῆς γῆς ἐμβάλλουσι τεταγμέναις περι-
όδοις καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσιν, ἄχρι οὗ παρελθοῦσα
τὴν ἐπισκοτουμένην χώραν πάλιν ἐπιλάμψῃ πρὸς
τὸν ἥλιον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ θείῳ πολὺ νέμων καὶ
φιλοθύτης ὢν καὶ μαντικός, ὡς εἶδε πρῶτον τὴν
σελήνην ἀποκαθαιρομένην, ἕνδεκα μόσχους αὐτῇ
6 *κατέθυσεν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τῷ* Ἡρακλεῖ *βουθυτῶν*
οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει μέχρις εἴκοσι· τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ καὶ
εἰκοστῷ παρῆν τὰ σημεῖα καὶ νίκην ἀμυνομένοις
ἔφραζεν. εὐξάμενος οὖν κατὰ βοῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
ἀγῶνος ἱεροῦ τῷ θεῷ, προσέταξε διακοσμεῖν τοῖς
ἡγεμόσι τὸν στρατὸν εἰς μάχην· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν
ἀπόκλισιν καὶ περιφορὰν ἀναμένων τοῦ φωτός,
ὅπως μὴ κατὰ προσώπου μαχομένοις αὐτοῖς ἕωθεν
ὁ ἥλιος ἀντιλάμποι, παρῆγε τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ
σκηνῇ καθεζόμενος ἀναπεπταμένῃ πρὸς τὸ πεδίον
καὶ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν τῶν πολεμίων.

XVIII. Περὶ *δὲ δείλην οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ φασι τοῦ* Αἰμιλίου *τεχνάζοντος ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἀχάλινον ἵππον ἐξελάσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς* Ῥωμαίους, *καὶ τοῦτον ἀρχὴν μάχης διωκόμενον παρασχεῖν· οἱ δὲ* Ῥωμαϊκῶν *ὑποζυγίων χορτάσματα παρακομιζόντων ἅπτεσθαι* Θρᾷκας, *ὧν* Ἀλέξανδρος *ἡγεῖτο, πρὸς*

and terror possessed their camp, and a rumour quietly spread among many of them that the portent signified an eclipse of a king. Now, Aemilius was not altogether without knowledge and experience of the irregularities of eclipses, which, at fixed periods, carry the moon in her course into the shadow of the earth and conceal her from sight, until she passes beyond the region of shadow and reflects again the light of the sun; however, since he was very devout and given to sacrifices and divination, as soon as he saw the moon beginning to emerge from the shadow, he sacrificed eleven heifers to her. And as soon as it was day, he sacrificed as many as twenty oxen to Hercules without getting favourable omens; but with the twenty-first victim the propitious signs appeared and indicated victory if they stood on the defensive. Accordingly, having vowed to the god a hecatomb and solemn games, he ordered his officers to put the army in array for battle; but he himself, waiting for the sun to pass to the west and decline, in order that its morning light might not shine in the faces of his men as they fought, passed the time sitting in his tent, which was open towards the plain and the enemy's encampment.

XVIII. Towards evening, Aemilius himself, as some say, devised a scheme for making the enemy begin the attack, and the Romans, pursuing a horse which they had driven forth without a bridle, came into collision with them, and the pursuit of this horse brought on a battle; others say that Thracians, under the command of Alexander, set upon Roman beasts of burden that were bringing in forage, and

δὲ τούτους ἐκδρομὴν ὀξεῖαν ἑπτακοσίων Λιγύων γενέσθαι· παραβοηθούντων δὲ πλειόνων ἑκατέροις
2 οὕτω συνάπτεσθαι τὴν μάχην ἀμφοτέρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Αἰμίλιος ὥσπερ κυβερνήτης τῷ παρόντι σάλῳ καὶ κινήματι τῶν στρατοπέδων τεκμαιρόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγῶνος, ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς προῆλθε καὶ τὰ τάγματα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπιὼν παρεθάρρυνεν, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς ἐξιππασάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροβολιζομένους ὁρᾷ πάντας ὅσον οὔπω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν χερσὶν ὄντας.

3 Πρῶτοι δ' οἱ Θρᾷκες ἐχώρουν, ὧν μάλιστά φησιν ἐκπλαγῆναι τὴν ὄψιν, ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ τὰ σώματα, λευκῷ καὶ περιλάμποντι θυρεῶν καὶ περικνημίδων ὁπλισμῷ μέλανας ὑπενδεδυμένοι χιτῶνας, ὀρθὰς δὲ ῥομφαίας βαρυσιδήρους ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ὤμων ἐπισείοντες. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς Θρᾷκας οἱ μισθοφόροι παρενέβαλλον, ὧν σκευαί τε παντοδαπαί, καὶ μεμιγμένοι Παίονες ἦσαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἄγημα τρίτον οἱ λογάδες, αὐτῶν Μακεδόνων ἀρετῇ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ τὸ καθαρώτατον, ἀστράπτοντες ἐπιχρύσοις ὅπλοις καὶ νεουργοῖς
4 φοινικίσιν. οἷς καθισταμένοις εἰς τάξιν αἱ τῶν 265
χαλκασπίδων ἐπανατέλλουσαι φάλαγγες ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐνέπλησαν αὐγῆς σιδήρου καὶ λαμπηδόνος χαλκοῦ τὸ πεδίον, κραυγῆς δὲ καὶ θορύβου παρακελευομένων τὴν ὀρεινήν. οὕτω δὲ θρασέως καὶ μετὰ τάχους ἐπῄεσαν ὥστε τοὺς πρώτους νεκροὺς ἀπὸ δυεῖν σταδίων τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ χάρακος καταπεσεῖν.

XIX. Γιγνομένης δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου παρῆν ὁ Αἰμίλιος, καὶ κατελάμβανεν ἤδη τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγήμασι Μακεδόνας ἄκρας τὰς σαρίσας προσερηρεικότας

that against these a sharp sally was made by seven hundred Ligurians, whereupon reinforcements were sent to either party, and thus the engagement became general. So then Aemilius, like a pilot, judging from the surging commotion in the armies the greatness of the coming storm, came forth from his tent and went along in front of his legionary troops encouraging them, and Nasica, after riding out to the skirmishers, saw that the whole force of the enemy was all but at close quarters.

First the Thracians advanced, whose appearance, Nasica says, was most terrible,—men of lofty stature, clad in tunics which showed black beneath the white and gleaming armour of their shields and greaves, and tossing high on their right shoulders battle-axes with heavy iron heads. Next to the Thracians, the mercenaries advanced to the attack; their equipment was of every variety, and Paeonians were mingled with them. Next to these came a third division, picked men, the flower of the Macedonians themselves for youthful strength and valour, gleaming with gilded armour and fresh scarlet coats. As these took their places in the line, they were illumined by the phalanx-lines of the Bronze-shields which issued from the camp behind them and filled the plain with the gleam of iron and the glitter of bronze, the hills, too, with the tumultuous shouts of their cheering. And with such boldness and swiftness did they advance that the first to be slain fell only two furlongs from the Roman camp.

XIX. As the attack began, Aemilius came up and found that the Macedonian battalions had already planted the tips of their long spears in the shields

τοῖς θυρεοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μὴ προσιεμένους εἰς ἐφικτὸν αὐτῶν τὰς μαχαίρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τάς τε πέλτας ἐξ ὤμου περισπασάντων καὶ ταῖς σαρίσαις ἀφ' ἑνὸς συνθήματος κλιθείσαις ὑποστάντων τοὺς θυρεοφόρους εἶδε τήν τε ῥώμην τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς προβολῆς, ἔκπληξις αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ δέος, ὡς οὐδὲν ἰδόντα πώποτε θέαμα φοβερώτερον·
2 καὶ πολλάκις ὕστερον ἐμέμνητο τοῦ πάθους ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς ὄψεως. τότε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἵλεω καὶ φαιδρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ κράνους καὶ θώρακος ἵππῳ παρήλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ὥς φησι Πολύβιος, τῆς μάχης ἀρχὴν λαμβανούσης ἀποδειλιάσας εἰς πόλιν ἀφιππάσατο, σκηψάμενος Ἡρακλεῖ θύειν, δειλὰ παρὰ δειλῶν ἱερὰ μὴ δεχομένῳ μηδ' εὐχὰς
3 ἀθεμίτους ἐπιτελοῦντι. θεμιτὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τὸν μὴ βάλλοντα κατευστοχεῖν οὔτε τὸν μὴ μένοντα κρατεῖν οὔθ' ὅλως τὸν ἄπρακτον εὐπραγεῖν οὔτε τὸν κακὸν εὐδαιμονεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῖς Αἰμιλίου παρῆν εὐχαῖς ὁ θεός· εὔχετο γὰρ κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην δόρυ κρατῶν, καὶ μαχόμενος παρεκάλει σύμμαχον τὸν θεόν.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Ποσειδώνιός τις ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι γεγονέναι λέγων, ἱστορίαν δὲ γεγραφὼς περὶ Περσέως ἐν πλείοσι βιβλίοις, φησὶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπὸ δειλίας οὐδὲ τὴν θυσίαν ποιησάμενον αἰτίαν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῇ προτέρᾳ τῆς μάχης τυχεῖν λελακτισμένον ὑφ'

of the Romans, who were thus prevented from reaching them with their swords. And when he saw that the rest of the Macedonian troops also were drawing their targets from their shoulders round in front of them, and with long spears set at one level were withstanding his shield-bearing troops, and saw too the strength of their interlocked shields and the fierceness of their onset, amazement and fear took possession of him, and he felt that he had never seen a sight more fearful; often in after times he used to speak of his emotions at that time and of what he saw. But then, showing to his soldiers a glad and cheerful countenance, he rode past them without helmet or breastplate. The king of the Macedonians, on the other hand, according to Polybius, as soon as the battle began, played the coward and rode back to the city, under pretence of sacrificing to Heracles, a god who does not accept cowardly sacrifices from cowards, nor accomplish their unnatural prayers. For it is not in the nature of things that he who makes no shot should hit the mark exactly, or that he who does not hold his ground should win the day, or, in a word, that he who does nothing should be successful in what he does, or that a wicked man should be prosperous. But the god listened to the prayers of Aemilius, who kept wielding his spear as he prayed for might and victory, and fought as he invited the god to fight with him.

However, a certain Poseidonius, who says he lived in those times and took part in those actions, and who has written a history of Perseus in several books, says it was not out of cowardice, nor with the excuse of the sacrifice, that the king went away, but because on the day before the battle a horse had

ἵππου τὸ σκέλος· ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ, καίπερ ἔχοντα
δυσχρήστως καὶ κωλυόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων,
ἵππον αὐτῷ κελεῦσαι τῶν φορέων προσαγαγεῖν
καὶ περιβάντα συμμῖξαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς φάλαγγος
5 ἀθωράκιστον· φερομένων δὲ παντοδαπῶν ἑκατέ-
ρωθεν βελῶν, παλτὸν ἐμπεσεῖν ὁλοσίδηρον αὐτῷ,
καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀκμῇ μὴ θιγεῖν, ἀλλὰ πλάγιον παρὰ
τὴν ἀριστερὰν πλευρὰν παραδραμεῖν, ῥύμῃ δὲ τῆς
παρόδου τόν τε χιτῶνα διακόψαι καὶ τὴν σάρκα
φοινίξαι τυφλῷ μώλωπι, πολὺν χρόνον διαφυ-
λάξαντι τὸν τύπον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος
ὑπὲρ τοῦ Περσέως ἀπολογεῖται.

XX. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ὡς ἀντέστησαν τῇ φά-
λαγγι, μὴ δυναμένων βιάζεσθαι, Σάλουιος ὁ τῶν
Πελιγνῶν ἡγούμενος ἁρπάσας τὸ σημεῖον τῶν ὑφ'
αὑτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔρριψε. τῶν δὲ Πελι-
γνῶν (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν Ἰταλοῖς θεμιτὸν οὐδ' ὅσιον
ἐγκαταλιπεῖν σημεῖον) ἐπιδραμόντων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον
τὸν τόπον ἔργα δεινὰ καὶ πάθη παρ' ἀμφοτέρων
2 ἀπήντα συμπεσόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκρούειν τε
τοῖς ξίφεσι τὰς σαρίσας ἐπειρῶντο καὶ πιέζειν
τοῖς θυρεοῖς καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς ἀντιλαμβανό-
μενοι παραφέρειν, οἱ δὲ τὴν προβολὴν κρατυνά-
μενοι δι' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τοὺς προσπίπτοντας
αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις διελαύνοντες, οὔτε θυρεοῦ στέγοντος
οὔτε θώρακος τὴν βίαν τῆς σαρίσης, ἀνερρίπτουν
ὑπὲρ κεφαλὴν τὰ σώματα τῶν Πελιγνῶν καὶ
Μαρρουκινῶν, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμόν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ
θηριώδει, πρὸς ἐναντίας πληγὰς καὶ προὔπτον

kicked him on the leg. He says further that in the battle, although he was in a wretched plight, and although his friends tried to deter him, the king ordered a pack-horse to be brought to him, mounted it, and joined his troops in the phalanx without a breastplate; and that among the missiles of every sort which were flying on all sides, a javelin made entirely of iron smote him, not touching him with its point, indeed, but coursing along his left side with an oblique stroke, and the force of its passage was such that it tore his tunic and made a dark red bruise upon his flesh, the mark of which remained for a long time. This, then, is what Poseidonius says in defence of Perseus.

XX. The Romans, when they attacked the Macedonian phalanx, were unable to force a passage, and Salvius, the commander of the Pelignians, snatched the standard of his company and hurled it in among the enemy. Then the Pelignians, since among the Italians it is an unnatural and flagrant thing to abandon a standard, rushed on towards the place where it was, and dreadful losses were inflicted and suffered on both sides. For the Romans tried to thrust aside the long spears of their enemies with their swords, or to crowd them back with their shields, or to seize and put them by with their very hands; while the Macedonians, holding them firmly advanced with both hands, and piercing those who fell upon them, armour and all, since neither shield nor breastplate could resist the force of the Macedonian long spear, hurled headlong back the Pelignians and Marrucinians, who, with no consideration but with animal fury rushed upon the strokes that

3 *ὠθουμένων θάνατον. οὕτω δὲ τῶν προμάχων
διαφθαρέντων ἀνεκόπησαν οἱ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐπι-
τεταγμένοι· καὶ φυγὴ μὲν οὐκ ἦν, ἀναχώρησις δὲ
πρὸς ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον* Ὀλόκρον, *ὥστε καὶ τὸν* 266
Αἰμίλιον *ἰδόντα φησὶν ὁ* Ποσειδώνιος *καταρρή-
ξασθαι τὸν χιτῶνα, τούτων μὲν ἐνδιδόντων, τῶν
δ' ἄλλων* Ῥωμαίων *διατρεπομένων τὴν φάλαγγα
προσβολὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ χαρακώ-
ματι τῷ πυκνώματι τῶν σαρισῶν ὑπαντιάζουσαν
πάντοθεν ἀπρόσμαχον.*

4 Ἐπεὶ *δὲ τῶν τε χωρίων ἀνωμάλων ὄντων, καὶ
διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς παρατάξεως οὐ φυλαττούσης
ἀραρότα τὸν συνασπισμόν, κατεῖδε τὴν φάλαγγα
τῶν* Μακεδόνων *κλάσεις τε πολλὰς καὶ διασπά-
σματα λαμβάνουσαν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν μεγάλοις στρα-
τοῖς καὶ ποικίλαις ὁρμαῖς τῶν μαχομένων, τοῖς
μὲν ἐκθλιβομένην μέρεσι, τοῖς δὲ προπίπτουσαν,
ἐπιὼν ὀξέως καὶ διαιρῶν τὰς σπείρας ἐκέλευεν εἰς
τὰ διαλείμματα καὶ κενώματα τῆς τῶν πολεμίων
τάξεως παρεμπίπτοντας καὶ συμπλεκομένους μὴ
μίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεμιγμένας
5 κατὰ μέρος τὰς μάχας τίθεσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦ μὲν*
Αἰμιλίου *τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων τοὺς
στρατιώτας διδασκόντων, ὡς πρῶτον ὑπέδυσαν
καὶ διέσχον εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ πλαγίου
κατὰ γυμνὰ προσφερόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς περιδρο-
μαῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες, ἡ μὲν ἰσχὺς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν
ἔργον εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλει τῆς φάλαγγος ἀναρρη-
γνυμένης, ἐν δὲ ταῖς καθ' ἕνα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους
συστάσεσιν οἱ* Μακεδόνες *μικροῖς μὲν ἐγχειριδίοις
στερεοὺς καὶ ποδήρεις θυρεοὺς νύσσοντες, ἐλα-*

met them, and a certain death. When the first line had thus been cut to pieces, those arrayed behind them were beaten back; and though there was no flight, still they retired towards the mountain called Olocrus, so that even Aemilius, as Poseidonius tells us, when he saw it, rent his garments. For this part of his army was retreating, and the rest of the Romans were turning aside from the phalanx, which gave them no access to it, but confronted them as it were with a dense barricade of long spears, and was everywhere unassailable.

But the ground was uneven, and the line of battle so long that shields could not be kept continuously locked together, and Aemilius therefore saw that the Macedonian phalanx was getting many clefts and intervals in it, as is natural when armies are large and the efforts of the combatants are diversified; portions of it were hard pressed, and other portions were dashing forward. Thereupon he came up swiftly, and dividing up his cohorts, ordered them to plunge quickly into the interstices and empty spaces in the enemy's line and thus come to close quarters, not fighting a single battle against them all, but many separate and successive battles. These instructions being given by Aemilius to his officers, and by his officers to the soldiers, as soon as they got between the ranks of the enemy and separated them, they attacked some of them in the flank where their armour did not shield them, and cut off others by falling upon their rear, and the strength and general efficiency of the phalanx was lost when it was thus broken up; and now that the Macedonians engaged man to man or in small detachments, they could only hack with their small daggers against the firm and

φροῖς δὲ πελταρίοις πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων μαχαίρας ὑπὸ βάρους καὶ καταφορᾶς διὰ παντὸς ὅπλου χωρούσας ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα, κακῶς ἀντέχοντες ἐτράποντο.

XXI. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ μέγας ἦν ἀγών. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ Κάτωνος υἱός, Αἰμιλίου δὲ γαμβρός, πᾶσαν ἀλκὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἀπέβαλε τὸ ξίφος. οἷα δὲ νεανίας ἐντεθραμμένος πλείστοις παιδεύμασι καὶ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς ἀποδείξεις ὀφείλων, οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι προεμένῳ σκῦλον αὐτοῦ ζῶντος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέδραμε τὴν μάχην, εἴ τινά που φίλον καὶ συνήθη κατίδοι, φράζων τὸ συμπεσὸν αὐτῷ καὶ δεόμενος
2 βοηθεῖν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ διασχόντες ὁρμῇ μιᾷ τοὺς ἄλλους, περὶ αὐτὸν ὑφηγούμενον ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. μεγάλῳ δ' ἀγῶνι καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ τραύμασιν ὤσαντες ἐκ χώρας καὶ τόπον ἔρημον καὶ γυμνὸν κατασχόντες ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ἐτράποντο τοῦ ξίφους. ὡς δὲ μόλις ἐν πολλοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ πτώμασι νεκρῶν κεκρυμμένον ἀνευρέθη, περιχαρεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ παιανίσαντες ἔτι λαμπρότερον ἐνέκειντο τοῖς συν-
3 εστῶσιν ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ τέλος οἱ τρισχίλιοι λογάδες ἐν τάξει μένοντες καὶ μαχόμενοι κατεκόπησαν ἅπαντες· τῶν δ' ἄλλων φευγόντων πολὺς ἦν ὁ φόνος, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πεδίον καὶ τὴν ὑπώρειαν καταπεπλῆσθαι νεκρῶν, τοῦ δὲ Λεύκου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῇ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἡμέρᾳ διελθεῖν ἔτι μεμιγμένον αἵματι.

long shields of the Romans, and oppose light wicker targets to their swords, which, such was their weight and momentum, penetrated through all their armour to their bodies. They therefore made a poor resistance and at last were routed.

XXI. But the struggle between them was fierce. Here, too, Marcus, the son of Cato and the son-in-law of Aemilius, while displaying all possible prowess, lost his sword. Since he was a young man of the most generous education and owed to a great father proofs of great valour, he thought life not worth the living if he abandoned such spoil of his own person to the enemy, and ran along the ranks telling every friend and companion whom he saw of his mishap and begging them for aid. These made a goodly number of brave men, and making their way with one impulse through the rest, they put themselves under his lead and fell upon the enemy. With a great struggle, much slaughter, and many wounds, they drove them from the ground, and when they had won a free and empty place, they set themselves to looking for the sword. And when at last it was found hidden among great heaps of armour and fallen bodies, they were filled with exceeding joy, and raising songs of triumph fell yet more impetuously upon those of the enemy who still held together. Finally, the three thousand picked men of the Macedonians, who remained in order and kept on fighting, were all cut to pieces; and of the rest, who took to flight, the slaughter was great, so that the plain and the lower slopes of the hills were covered with dead bodies, and the waters of the river Leucus were still mingled with blood when the Romans crossed it on

λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους πεντακισχιλίους ἀποθανεῖν. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔπεσον, ὡς μὲν Ποσειδώνιός φησιν, ἑκατόν, ὡς δὲ Νασικᾶς, ὀγδοήκοντα.

XXII. Καὶ κρίσιν μὲν ὀξυτάτην μέγιστος ἀγὼν οὗτος ἔσχεν· ἐνάτης γὰρ ὥρας ἀρξάμενοι μάχεσθαι πρὸ δεκάτης ἐνίκησαν· τῷ δὲ λειπομένῳ τῆς ἡμέρας χρησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν καὶ μέχρι σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι διώξαντες ἑσπέρας ἤδη βαθείας ἀπετράποντο. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οἱ θεράποντες ὑπὸ λαμπάδων ἀπαντῶντες μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἀπῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς φωτὶ λαμπομένας καὶ κεκοσμημένας κιττοῦ καὶ δάφνης στεφάνοις· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν μέγα πένθος
2 εἶχε. δυεῖν γὰρ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ στρατευομένων ὁ νεώτερος οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ἦν, ὃν ἐφίλει τε μάλιστα καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς ἀρετὴν φύσει προὔχοντα 267
τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑώρα. θυμοειδῆ δὲ καὶ φιλότιμον ὄντα τὴν ψυχήν, ἔτι δ' ἀντίπαιδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, παντάπασιν ἀπολωλέναι κατεδόξαζεν, ὑπ' ἀπειρίας ἀναμιχθέντα τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχομένοις.
3 ἀπορουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ περιπαθοῦντος ᾔσθετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες ἀνεπήδων καὶ διέθεον μετὰ λαμπάδων, πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου, πολλοὶ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις νεκροῖς ζητοῦντες. κατήφεια δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ κραυγὴ τὸ πεδίον κατεῖχεν ἀνακαλουμένων τὸν Σκηπίωνα. πᾶσι γὰρ ἀγαστὸς ἦν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν καὶ

the day after the battle. For it is said that over twenty-five thousand of their enemies were slain; while of the Romans there fell, according to Poseidonius, a hundred, according to Nasica, eighty.

XXII. And this greatest of all struggles was most speedily decided; for the Romans began fighting at three o'clock in the afternoon, and were victorious within an hour; the rest of the day they spent in the pursuit, which they kept up for as many as a hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was already late in the evening when they returned. All the rest were met by their servants with torches and conducted with joyful shouts to their tents, which were ablaze with light and adorned with wreaths of ivy and laurel; but Aemilius their general was a prey to great sorrow. For of the two sons who were serving under him, the younger was nowhere to be found, and Aemilius loved him especially, and saw that he was by nature more prone to excellence than any of his brothers. But he was of a passionate and ambitious spirit, and was still hardly more than a boy in years, and his father concluded that he had certainly perished, when, for lack of experience, he had become entangled among the enemy as they fought. The whole army learned of the distress and anguish of their general, and springing up from their suppers, ran about with torches, many to the tent of Aemilius, and many in front of the ramparts, searching among the numerous dead bodies. Dejection reigned in the camp, and the plain was filled with the cries of men calling out the name of Scipio. For from the very outset he had been admired by everybody, since, beyond any other one of his family,

πολιτείαν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν συγγενῶν κεκραμένος τὸ ἦθος.

4 Ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ἤδη σχεδὸν ἀπεγνωσμένος ἐκ τῆς διώξεως προσῄει μετὰ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἑταίρων, αἵματος καὶ φόνου πολεμίων ἀνάπλεως, ὥσπερ σκύλαξ γενναῖος, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀκρατῶς τῇ νίκῃ συνεξενεχθείς. οὗτός ἐστι Σκηπίων ὁ τοῖς ἱκνουμένοις χρόνοις[1] Καρχηδόνα καὶ Νομαντίαν κατασκάψας καὶ πολὺ πρῶτος ἀρετῇ τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων γενόμενος καὶ δυνηθεὶς μέγιστον. Αἰμιλίῳ μὲν οὖν τὴν τοῦ κατορθώματος νέμεσιν εἰς ἕτερον ἡ τύχη καιρὸν ὑπερβαλλομένη τότε παντελῆ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀπεδίδου τῆς νίκης.

XXIII. Περσεὺς δὲ φυγῇ μὲν ἐκ Πύδνης εἰς Πέλλαν ἀπεχώρει, τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιεικῶς πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διασεσωσμένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὡς ἀνάνδρους καὶ προδεδωκότας λοιδοροῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὤθουν καὶ πληγὰς ἐδίδοσαν, δείσας τὸν θόρυβον ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρέκλινε τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τὴν πορφύραν, ὡς μὴ διάσημος εἴη, περισπάσας ἔθετο πρόσθεν αὑτοῦ, καὶ τὸ διάδημα διὰ χειρῶν εἶχεν.
2 ὡς δὲ καὶ προσδιαλέγοιτο τοῖς ἑταίροις ἅμα βαδίζων, καταβὰς ἐφείλκετο τὸν ἵππον. τῶν δὲ ὁ μέν τις ὑπόδημα προσποιούμενος λελυμένον συνάπτειν, ὁ δὲ ἵππον ἄρδειν, ὁ δὲ ποτοῦ χρῄζειν, ὑπολειπόμενοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπεδίδρασκον, οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς τὴν ἐκείνου χαλεπότητα δεδοικότες. κεχαραγμένος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν

[1] χρόνοις supplied by Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske.

he had a nature adapted for leadership in war and public service.

Well, then, when it was already late and he was almost despaired of, he came in from the pursuit with two or three comrades, covered with the blood of the enemies he had slain, having been, like a young hound of noble breed, carried away by the uncontrollable pleasure of the victory. This was that Scipio who, in after times,[1] destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and became by far the most noble and influential Roman of his day. Thus Fortune, postponing to another season her jealous displeasure at the great success of Aemilius, restored to him then in all completeness his pleasure in his victory.[2]

XXIII. But Perseus was away in flight from Pydna to Pella, since practically all his horsemen came safely off from the battle. But when his footmen overtook his horsemen, and, abusing them as cowards and traitors, tried to push them from their horses and fell to beating them, the king, afraid of the tumult, turned his horse out of the road, drew his purple robe round and held it in front of him, that he might not be conspicuous, and carried his diadem in his hands. And in order that he might also converse with his companions as he walked, he dismounted from his horse and led him along. But of these companions, one pretended that he must fasten a shoe that had become loose, another that he must water his horse, another that he himself wanted water to drink, and so they gradually lagged behind and ran away, because they had more fear of his cruelty than of the enemy. For he was lacerated

[1] In 146 and 133 B.C.
[2] The battle of Pydna is described by Livy in xliv. 36-41.

εἰς πάντας ἐζήτει τρέπειν ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν
3 τῆς ἥττης. ἐπεὶ δὲ νυκτὸς εἰς Πέλλαν εἰσελθὼν Εὔκτον καὶ Εὔλαιον, τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ νομίσματος, ἀπαντήσαντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐγκαλοῦντας περὶ τῶν γεγονότων, τὰ δὲ παρρησιαζομένους ἀκαίρως καὶ συμβουλεύοντας ὀργισθεὶς ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτὸς τῷ ξιφιδίῳ παίων ἀμφοτέρους, οὐδεὶς παρέμεινεν αὐτῷ πάρεξ Εὐάνδρου τε τοῦ Κρητὸς καὶ Ἀρχεδάμου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ καὶ τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ
4 Νέωνος. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Κρῆτες, οὐ δι' εὔνοιαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν, ὥσπερ κηρίοις μέλιτται, προσλιπαροῦντες. πάμπολλα γὰρ ἐπήγετο, καὶ προὔθηκεν ἐξ αὐτῶν διαρπάσαι τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐκπώματα καὶ κρατῆρας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ κατασκευὴν
5 εἰς πεντήκοντα ταλάντων λόγον. γενόμενος δ' ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει πρῶτον, εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐν Γαληψῷ, καὶ τοῦ φόβου μικρὸν ὑπανέντος, εἰς τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν νοσημάτων, τὴν μικρολογίαν, αὖθις ὑπενεχθεὶς ὠδύρετο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὡς τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ μεγάλου χρυσωμάτων ἔνια τοῖς Κρησὶ διερριφὼς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀντιβολῶν καὶ δα-
6 κρύων ἀμείψασθαι πρὸς νόμισμα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπισταμένους ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔλαθε κρητίζων πρὸς Κρῆτας, οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες καὶ ἀποδόντες ἀπεστερήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπέδωκε τἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ τριάκοντα τάλαντα κερδάνας ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων, ἃ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔμελλον οἱ πολέμιοι λήψεσθαι,

by his misfortunes, and sought to turn the responsibility for his defeat away from himself and upon everybody else. He entered Pella during the night, and when Euctus and Eulaeus, his treasurers, came to meet him, and, what with their censure for what had happened and their unseasonably bold speeches and counsels, enraged him, he slew them, smiting both of them himself with his small-sword. After this no one remained with him except Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Aetolian, and Neon the Boeotian. Of his soldiers, only the Cretans followed after him, not through good will, but because they were as devoted to his riches as bees to their honeycombs. For he was carrying along vast treasures, and had handed out from them for distribution among the Cretans drinking cups and mixing bowls and other furniture of gold and silver to a value of fifty talents. He arrived at Amphipolis first, and then from there at Galepsus, and now that his fear had abated a little, he relapsed into that congenital and oldest disease of his, namely, parsimony, and lamented to his friends that through ignorance he had suffered some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great to fall into the hands of the Cretans, and with tearful supplications he besought those who had it to exchange it for money. Now those that understood him accurately did not fail to see that he was playing the Cretan against Cretans; but those who listened to him, and gave back the plate, were cheated. For he did not pay them the money he had promised, but after craftily getting thirty talents from his friends, which his enemies were to get soon afterwards, he sailed across with them to

μετ' αὐτῶν διέπλευσεν εἰς Σαμοθρᾴκην καὶ διαφεύγων ἐπὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἱκέτευεν.

XXIV. Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν λέγονται φιλοβασίλειοι 268
Μακεδόνες, τότε δ' ὡς ἐρείσματι κεκλασμένῳ πάντων ἅμα συμπεσόντων ἐγχειρίζοντες αὑτοὺς τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ δύο ἡμέραις ὅλης κύριον αὐτὸν κατέστησαν Μακεδονίας. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖν τοῖς εὐτυχίᾳ τινὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας γεγονέναι φάσκουσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν σύμπτωμα δαιμόνιον ἦν· ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει θύοντος τοῦ Αἰμιλίου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐνηργμένων κεραυνὸς ἐνσκήψας εἰς τὸν βωμὸν ἐπέφλεξε καὶ συγκα-
2 θήγισε τὴν ἱερουργίαν. ὑπερβάλλει δὲ θειότητι πάντως καὶ τύχῃ τὰ τῆς φήμης. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρα τετάρτη νενικημένῳ Περσεῖ περὶ Πύδναν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τοῦ δήμου θεωροῦντος ἱππικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξαίφνης ἐνέπεσε λόγος εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ θεάτρου μέρος ὡς Αἰμίλιος μεγάλῃ μάχῃ νενικηκὼς Περσέα καταστρέφοιτο σύμπασαν Μακε-
3 δονίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ταχὺ τῆς φήμης ἀναχεομένης εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξέλαμψε χαρὰ μετὰ κρότου καὶ βοῆς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην κατασχοῦσα τὴν πόλιν. εἶτα, ὡς ὁ λόγος οὐκ εἶχεν εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀνελθεῖν βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐφαίνετο πλανώμενος, τότε μὲν ἐσκεδάσθη καὶ διερρύη τὰ τῆς φήμης, ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις πυθόμενοι σαφῶς ἐθαύμαζον τὴν προδραμοῦσαν ἀγγελίαν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ψεύδει τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶχε.

Samothrace, where he took refuge as a suppliant in the temple of the Dioscuri.

XXIV. Now, the Macedonians are always said to have been lovers of their kings, but at this time, feeling that their prop was shattered and all had fallen with it, they put themselves into the hands of Aemilius, and in two days made him master of all Macedonia. And this would seem to bear witness in favour of those who declare that these achievements of his were due to a rare good fortune. And still further, that which befell him at his sacrifice was a token of divine favour. When, namely, Aemilius was sacrificing in Amphipolis, and the sacred rites were begun, a thunderbolt darted down upon the altar, set it on fire, and consumed the sacrifice with it. But an altogether more signal instance of divine favour and good fortune is seen in the way the rumour of his victory spread. For it was only the fourth day after Perseus had been defeated at Pydna, and at Rome the people were watching equestrian contests, when suddenly a report sprang up at the entrance of the theatre that Aemilius had conquered Perseus in a great battle and reduced all Macedonia. After this the rumour spread quickly among the multitude, and joy burst forth, accompanied by shouts and clapping of hands, and prevailed in the city all that day. Then, since the story could not be traced to any sure source, but seemed to be current everywhere alike, for the time being the rumour vanished into thin air; but when, a few days afterwards, they were clearly informed of the matter, they were astonished at the tidings which had reached them first, seeing that in the fiction there was truth.

XXV. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Σάγρᾳ ποταμῷ μάχης 'Ιταλιωτῶν αὐθημερὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ λόγον γενέσθαι, καὶ Πλαταιᾶσι τῆς ἐν Μυκάλῃ πρὸς Μήδους. ἣν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ταρκυνίους μετὰ Λατίνων ἐπιστρατεύσαντας ἐνίκησαν, αὐτάγγελοι φράζοντες ὤφθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἄνδρες δύο καλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι. τούτους
2 εἴκασαν εἶναι Διοσκούρους. ὁ δ' ἐντυχὼν πρῶτος αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀγορὰν πρὸ τῆς κρήνης, ἀναψύχουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἱδρῶτι πολλῷ περιρρεομένους, ἐθαύμαζε τὸν περὶ τῆς νίκης λόγον. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπιψαῦσαι λέγονται τῆς ὑπήνης αὐτοῦ τοῖν χεροῖν ἀτρέμα μειδιῶντες· ἡ δ' εὐθὺς ἐκ μελαίνης τριχὸς εἰς πυρρὰν μεταβαλοῦσα τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πίστιν, τῷ δ' ἀνδρὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπίκλησιν τὸν 'Αηνόβαρβον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ χαλκοπώγωνα. πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ
3 καθ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενον πίστιν παρέσχεν. ὅτε γὰρ 'Αντώνιος ἀπέστη Δομετιανοῦ καὶ πολὺς πόλεμος ἀπὸ Γερμανίας προσεδοκᾶτο, τῆς Ῥώμης ταραττομένης ἄφνω καὶ αὐτομάτως ὁ δῆμος ἐξ αὐτοῦ φήμην ἀνέδωκε νίκης, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέδραμε λόγος αὐτόν τε τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἀνῃρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματος ἡττημένου μηδὲν μέρος λελεῖφθαι. τοσαύτην δὲ λαμπρότητα καὶ ῥύμην ἡ πίστις ἔσχεν ὥστε καὶ θῦσαι τῶν ἐν τέλει
4 πολλούς. ζητουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου φράσαντος,

[1] A battle between the Locrians and Crotoniats, at some time in the sixth century B.C.

XXV. It is said also that a report of the battle fought by the Italian Greeks at the river Sagra[1] reached Peloponnesus on the same day, and so did that of the battle with the Medes at Mycale come on the same day to Plataea.[2] And when the Romans conquered the Tarquins, who had taken the field against them with the Latins, two tall and beautiful men were seen at Rome a little while after, who brought direct tidings from the army. These were conjectured to be the Dioscuri. The first man who met them in front of the spring in the forum, where they were cooling their horses, which were reeking with sweat, was amazed at their report of the victory.[3] Then, we are told, they touched his beard with their hands, quietly smiling the while, and the hair of it was changed at once from black to red, a circumstance which gave credence to their story, and fixed upon the man the surname of Ahenobarbus, that is to say, *Bronze-beard*. And all this is made credible by that which has happened in our time. When, namely, Antonius was in revolt from Domitian,[4] and a great war was expected from Germany, and Rome was in commotion, suddenly and spontaneously the people of their own accord spread abroad a report of a victory, and a story coursed through Rome that Antonius himself had been slain, and that of his defeated army not a portion was left alive. Belief in the story became so strong and distinct that many of the magistrates actually offered sacrifices. When, however, the author of the story was sought, none

[2] It was when the Greeks at Mycale were about to attack the Persians that a rumour came to them of the victory of the Greeks at Plataea over Mardonius (Herodotus, ix. 100).
[3] See the *Coriolanus*, iii. 4. [4] In 91 A.D.

ὡς οὐδεὶς ἦν, ἀλλ' ο λόγος εἰς ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου διωκόμενος ἀνέφευγε, καὶ τέλος καταδὺς ὥσπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὸν ἄπειρον ὄχλον ἐφάνη μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχων βέβαιον, αὕτη μὲν ἡ φήμη ταχὺ τῆς πόλεως ἐξερρύη, πορευομένῳ δὲ τῷ Δομετιανῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἤδη καθ' ὁδὸν ἀγγελία καὶ γράμματα φράζοντα τὴν νίκην ἀπήντησεν. ἡ δ' αὐτοῦ[1] τοῦ κατορθώματος ἡμέρα καὶ τῆς φήμης ἐγίνετο, ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ δισμυρίους σταδίους τῶν τόπων διεστώτων. ταῦτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς.

XXVI. Γναῖος δὲ Ὀκτάβιος ὁ ναυαρχῶν Αἰμιλίῳ προσορμισάμενος τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ τὴν μὲν ἀσυλίαν παρεῖχε τῷ Περσεῖ διὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἔκπλου δὲ καὶ φυγῆς εἶργεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ λανθάνει πως ὁ Περσεὺς Ὀροάνδην τινὰ Κρῆτα λέμβον ἔχοντα συμπείσας μετὰ χρημάτων ἀνα-
2 λαβεῖν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ κρητισμῷ χρησάμενος τὰ μὲν χρήματα νύκτωρ ἀνέλαβεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας νυκτὸς ἥκειν κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς τῷ 269
Δημητρίῳ λιμένα μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ θεραπείας ἀναγκαίας, εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἀπέπλευσεν. ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς οἰκτρὰ μὲν ἔπασχε διὰ στενῆς θυρίδος παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκμηρυόμενος αὑτὸν καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναῖκα πόνων καὶ πλάνης ἀπείρους, οἰκτρότατον δὲ στεναγμὸν ἀφῆκεν, ὥς τις αὐτῷ πλανωμένῳ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἤδη πελάγιον τὸν

[1] αὐτοῦ Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to αὐτή.

could be found, but it eluded all pursuit from one man to another, and finally disappeared in the limitless throng, as in a yawning sea, and was seen to have no sure source. This rumour, then, quickly melted away in the city; but when Domitian was setting out with an army for the war and was already on the march, messages and letters announcing the victory came to meet him.[1] And the success itself was gained on the day when the rumour of it came to Rome, although the distance between the places was more than twenty thousand furlongs. These facts are known to every one of our time.

XXVI. But to resume, Gnaeus Octavius, the admiral of Aemilius, came to anchor off Samothrace, and while he allowed Perseus to enjoy asylum, out of respect to the gods, he took means to prevent him from escaping by sea. However, Perseus somehow succeeded in persuading a certain Cretan named Oroandes, the owner of a small skiff, to take him on board with his treasures. So Oroandes, true Cretan that he was, took the treasures aboard by night, and after bidding Perseus to come during the following night to the harbour adjoining the Demetrium, with his children and necessary attendants, as soon as evening fell sailed off. Now, Perseus suffered pitifully in letting himself down through a narrow window in the fortress, together with his wife and little children, who were unacquainted with wandering and hardships; but most pitiful of all was the groan he gave when some one told him, as he wandered along the shore, that he had seen Oroandes already out at sea and under full

[1] Antonius did not get the help he expected from German auxiliaries, and was defeated by Appius Norbanus.

3 Ὀροάνδην θέοντα κατιδὼν ἔφρασεν. ὑπέλαμπε γὰρ ἡμέρα, καὶ πάσης ἐλπίδος ἔρημος ὑπεχώρει φυγῇ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ λαθὼν μέν, ὑποφθάσας δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μετὰ τῆς γυναικός. τὰ δὲ παιδία συλλαβὼν αὐτοῖς Ἴων ἐνεχείρισεν, ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἐρώμενος ἦν τοῦ Περσέως, τότε δὲ προδότης γενόμενος αἰτίαν παρέσχε τὴν μάλιστα συναναγκάσασαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς θηρίον ἁλισκομένων τῶν τέκνων, εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἐκείνων κρατοῦσιν.

4 Ἐπίστευε μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τῷ Νασικᾷ, κἀκεῖνον ἐκάλει· μὴ παρόντος δὲ κατακλαύσας τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην περισκεψάμενος ἔδωκεν αὑτὸν ὑποχείριον τῷ Γναίῳ, τότε μάλιστα ποιήσας φανερὸν ὅτι τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ τι κακὸν ἀγεννέστερον ἡ φιλοψυχία, δι' ἥν, ὃ μόνον ἡ τύχη τῶν ἐπταικότων οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται, τὸν
5 ἔλεον, ἀπεστέρησεν ἑαυτοῦ. δεηθεὶς γὰρ ἀχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, ὁ μὲν ὡς ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ πεπτωκότι πτῶμα νεμεσητὸν καὶ δυστυχὲς ἐξαναστὰς ὑπήντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων δεδακρυμένος· ὁ δ', αἴσχιστον θέαμα, προβαλὼν αὑτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ γονάτων δραξάμενος ἀνεβάλλετο φωνὰς ἀγεννεῖς
6 καὶ δεήσεις, ἃς οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν οὐδ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Αἰμίλιος, ἀλλὰ προσβλέψας αὐτὸν ἀλγοῦντι καὶ λελυπημένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ, "Τί τῆς τύχης," εἶπεν, "ὦ ταλαίπωρε, τὸ μέγιστον ἀφαιρεῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ταῦτα πράττων ἀφ' ὧν δόξεις οὐ παρ' ἀξίαν ἀτυχεῖν, οὐδὲ τοῦ νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πάλαι

sail. For day was beginning to dawn, and so, bereft of every hope, he fled back to the fortress with his wife, before the Romans could prevent him, though they saw him. His children were seized and delivered to the Romans by Ion, who of old had been a favourite of Perseus, but now became his betrayer, and furnished the most compelling reason for his coming, as a wild beast will do when its young have been captured, and surrendering himself to those who had them in their power.

Accordingly, having most confidence in Nasica, he called for him; but since Nasica was not there, after bewailing his misfortune and carefully weighing the necessity under which he lay, he gave himself into the power of Gnaeus, thus making it most abundantly clear that his avarice was a less ignoble evil than the love of life that was in him, and that led him to deprive himself of the only thing which Fortune cannot take away from the fallen, namely, pity. For when at his request he was brought to Aemilius, Aemilius saw in him a great man whose fall was due to the resentment of the gods and his own evil fortune, and rose up and came to meet him, accompanied by his friends, and with tears in his eyes; but Perseus, a most shameful sight, after throwing himself prone before him and then clasping his knees, broke out into ignoble cries and supplications. These Aemilius could not abide and would not hear; but looking upon him with a distressed and sorrowful countenance, said: "Why, wretched man, dost thou free Fortune from thy strongest indictment against her, by conduct which will make men think that thy misfortunes are not undeserved, and that thy former prosperity,

δαίμονος ἀνάξιος γεγονέναι; τί δέ μου καταβάλλεις τὴν νίκην, καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα ποιεῖς μικρόν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἑαυτὸν οὐ γενναῖον οὐδὲ πρέποντα Ῥωμαίων ἀνταγωνιστήν; ἀρετή τοι δυστυχοῦσι μεγάλην ἔχει μοῖραν αἰδοῦς καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις, δειλία δὲ Ῥωμαίοις, κἂν εὐποτμῇ, πάντη ἀτιμότατον."

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἀναστήσας καὶ δεξιωσάμενος Τουβέρωνι παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τοὺς γαμβροὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμονικῶν μάλιστα τοὺς νεωτέρους ἔσω τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπισπασάμενος πολὺν χρόνον ἦν πρὸς αὑτῷ σιωπῇ καθήμενος, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας. ὁρμήσας δὲ περὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διαλέγεσθαι πραγμάτων, "Ἆρά γε," εἶπεν, "ἄξιον εὐπραγίας παρούσης ἄνθρωπον ὄντα θρασύνεσθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἔθνος ἢ πόλιν ἢ βασιλείαν
2 καταστρεψάμενον, ἢ τὴν μεταβολὴν ταύτην τῆς τύχης, ἣ[1] παράδειγμα τῷ πολεμοῦντι κοινῆς ἀσθενείας προθεῖσα παιδεύει μηδὲν ὡς μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον διανοεῖσθαι; ποῖος γὰρ ἀνθρώποις τοῦ θαρρεῖν καιρός, ὅταν τὸ κρατεῖν ἑτέρων μάλιστα δεδοικέναι τὴν τύχην ἀναγκάζῃ, καὶ τῷ χαίροντι δυσθυμίαν ἐπάγῃ τοσαύτην ὁ τῆς περιφερομένης καὶ προσισταμένης ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοις
3 εἱμαρμένης λογισμός; ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδοχήν, ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤρθη δυνάμεως καὶ μέγιστον ἔσχε κράτος, ὥρας μιᾶς μορίῳ πεσοῦσαν ὑπὸ πόδας θέμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄρτι μυριάσι πεζῶν

[1] τῆς τύχης, ἣ so Sintenis[1], Coraës, and Bekker, with the MSS.: ἡ τύχη.

rather than thy present lot, was beyond thy deserts? And why dost thou depreciate my victory, and make my success a meagre one, by showing thyself no noble or even fitting antagonist for Romans? Valour in the unfortunate obtains great reverence even among their enemies, but cowardice, in Roman eyes, even though it meet with success, is in every way a most dishonourable thing."

XXVII. Notwithstanding his displeasure, he raised Perseus up, gave him his hand, and put him in charge of Tubero, while he himself drew his sons, his sons-in-law, and of the other officers especially the younger men, into his tent, where for a long time he sat in silent communion with himself, so that all wondered. Then he began to discourse of Fortune and of human affairs, saying: "Is it, then, fitting that one who is mortal should be emboldened when success comes to him, and have high thoughts because he has subdued a nation, or a city, or a kingdom? or should his thoughts dwell rather on this reversal of fortune, which sets before the warrior an illustration of the weakness that is common to all men, and teaches him to regard nothing as stable or safe? For what occasion have men to be confident, when their conquest of others gives them most cogent reason to be in fear of Fortune, and when one who exults in success is thrown, as I am, into great dejection by reflecting upon the allotments of Fate, which take a circling course, and fall now upon some and now upon others? Or, when the succession of Alexander, who attained the highest pinnacle of power and won the greatest might, has fallen in the space of a single hour and has been put beneath your feet, or when you see kings who but just now

καὶ χιλιάσιν ἱππέων τοσαύταις ὁπλοφορουμένους
βασιλεῖς ὁρῶντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων χειρῶν ἐφή-
μερα σιτία καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας, οἴεσθε τὰ
καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔχειν τινὰ βεβαιότητα τύχης διαρκῆ
4 πρὸς τὸν χρόνον; οὐ καταβαλόντες ὑμεῖς οἱ νέοι
τὸ κενὸν φρύαγμα τοῦτο καὶ γαυρίαμα τῆς νίκης 270
ταπεινοὶ καταπτήξετε πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ἀεὶ καρα-
δοκοῦντες εἰς ὅ τι κατασκήψει τέλος ἑκάστῳ τὴν
τῆς παρούσης εὐπραγίας ὁ δαίμων νέμεσιν;"
τοιαῦτά φασι πολλὰ διαλεχθέντα τὸν Αἰμίλιον
ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς νέους εὖ μάλα τὸ καύχημα καὶ
τὴν ὕβριν, ὥσπερ χαλινῷ, τῷ λόγῳ κόπτοντι
κεκολασμένους.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν πρὸς
ἀνάπαυσιν, αὑτὸν δὲ πρὸς θέαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἔτρεψε καὶ διαγωγὴν ἔνδοξον ἅμα καὶ φιλάνθρω-
πον. ἐπιὼν γὰρ ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς δήμους καὶ
τὰ πολιτεύματα καθίστατο, καὶ δωρεὰς ἐδίδου,
ταῖς μὲν σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, ταῖς δ' ἔλαιον.
τοσοῦτον γὰρ εὑρεθῆναί φασιν ἀποκείμενον ὥστε
τοὺς λαμβάνοντας καὶ δεομένους ἐπιλιπεῖν πρό-
τερον ἢ καταναλωθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εὑρεθέν-
2 των. ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς ἰδὼν κίονα μέγαν τετράγωνον
ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν συνηρμοσμένον, ἐφ' οὗ Περσέως
ἔμελλε χρυσοῦς ἀνδριὰς τίθεσθαι, προσέταξε τὸν
αὑτοῦ τεθῆναι· τοὺς γὰρ ἡττημένους τοῖς νικῶσιν
ἐξίστασθαι χώρας προσήκειν. ἐν δ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ
τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πολυθρύλητον ἐκεῖνον ἀναφθέγξα-
σθαί φασιν, ὡς τὸν Ὁμήρου Δία Φειδίας ἀπο-
3 πλάσαιτο. τῶν δὲ δέκα πρέσβεων ἐκ Ῥώμης
ἀφικομένων Μακεδόσι μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὴν χώραν

were surrounded by so many myriads of infantry and thousands of cavalry, receiving from their enemy's hands the food and drink requisite for the day, can you suppose that we ourselves have any guarantee from Fortune that will avail against the attacks of time? Abandon, then, young men, this empty insolence and pride of victory, and take a humble posture as you confront the future, always expectant of the time when the Deity shall at last launch against each one of you his jealous displeasure at your present prosperity." Many such words were uttered by Aemilius, we are told, and he sent the young men away with their vainglorious insolence and pride well curbed by his trenchant speech, as by a bridle.

XXVIII. After this, he gave his army a chance to rest, while he himself went about to see Greece, occupying himself in ways alike honourable and humane. For in his progress he restored the popular governments and established their civil polities; he also gave gifts to the cities, to some grain from the royal stores, to others oil. For it is said that so great stores were found laid up that petitioners and receivers failed before the abundance discovered was exhausted. At Delphi, he saw a tall square pillar composed of white marble stones, on which a golden statue of Perseus was intended to stand, and gave orders that his own statue should be set there, for it was meet that the conquered should make room for their conquerors. And at Olympia, as they say, he made that utterance which is now in every mouth, that Pheidias had moulded the Zeus of Homer. When the ten commissioners arrived from Rome, he restored to the Macedonians their country

καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθέρας οἰκεῖν καὶ αὐτονόμους,
ἑκατὸν δὲ τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελεῖν, οὗ πλέον
ἢ διπλάσιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσέφερον. θέας δὲ
παντοδαπῶν ἀγώνων καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν τοῖς
θεοῖς ἑστιάσεις καὶ δεῖπνα προὔθετο, χορηγίᾳ
4 μὲν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀφθόνῳ χρώμενος, τάξιν
δὲ καὶ κόσμον καὶ κατακλίσεις καὶ δεξιώσεις καὶ
τὴν πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτοῦ τῆς κατ᾽ ἀξίαν τιμῆς
καὶ φιλοφροσύνης αἴσθησιν οὕτως ἀκριβῆ καὶ
πεφροντισμένην ἐνδεικνύμενος ὥστε θαυμάζειν
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰ μηδὲ τὴν παιδιὰν ἄμοιρον
ἀπολείπει σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ τηλικαῦτα πράττων
ἀνὴρ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς τὸ πρέπον ἀπο-
5 δίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔχαιρεν, ὅτι πολλῶν
παρεσκευασμένων καὶ λαμπρῶν τὸ ἥδιστον αὐτὸς
ἦν ἀπόλαυσμα καὶ θέαμα τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔλεγε τῆς
αὐτῆς εἶναι ψυχῆς παρατάξεώς τε προστῆναι
καλῶς καὶ συμποσίου, τῆς μέν, ὅπως φοβερωτάτη
τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοῦ δ᾽, ὡς εὐχαριστότατον ᾖ τοῖς
6 συνοῦσιν. οὐδενὸς δ᾽ ἧττον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐλευθεριό-
τητα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπῄνουν οἱ ἄνθρω-
ποι, πολὺ μὲν ἀργύριον, πολὺ δὲ χρυσίον ἐκ τῶν
βασιλικῶν ἠθροισμένον οὐδ᾽ ἰδεῖν ἐθελήσαντος,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταμίαις εἰς τὸ δημόσιον παραδόντος.
μόνα τὰ βιβλία τοῦ βασιλέως φιλογραμματοῦσι
τοῖς υἱέσιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξελέσθαι, καὶ διανέμων

and their cities for free and independent residence; they were also to pay the Romans a hundred talents in tribute, a sum less than half of what they used to pay to their kings. He also held all sorts of games and contests and performed sacrifices to the gods, at which he gave feasts and banquets, making liberal allowances therefor from the royal treasury, while in the arrangement and ordering of them, in saluting and seating his guests, and in paying to each one that degree of honour and kindly attention which was properly his due, he showed such nice and thoughtful perception that the Greeks were amazed, seeing that not even their pastimes were treated by him with neglect, but that, although he was a man of such great affairs, he gave even to trifling things their due attention. And he was also delighted to find that, though preparations for entertainment were ever so many and splendid, he himself was the pleasantest sight to his guests and gave them most enjoyment; and he used to say to those who wondered at his attention to details that the same spirit was required both in marshalling a line of battle and in presiding at a banquet well, the object being, in the one case, to cause most terror in the enemy, in the other, to give most pleasure to the company. But more than anything else men praised his freedom of spirit and his greatness of soul; for he would not consent even to look upon the quantities of silver and the quantities of gold that were gathered together from the royal treasuries, but handed them over to the quaestors for the public chest. It was only the books of the king that he allowed his sons, who were devoted to learning, to choose out for

ἀριστεῖα τῆς μάχης Αἰλίῳ Τουβέρωνι τῷ γαμβρῷ
7 φιάλην ἔδωκε πέντε λιτρῶν ὁλκήν. οὗτός ἐστι
Τουβέρων ὃν ἔφαμεν μετὰ συγγενῶν οἰκεῖν ἑκ-
καιδέκατον, ἀπὸ γηδίου μικροῦ διατρεφομένων
ἁπάντων. καὶ πρῶτον ἄργυρον ἐκεῖνόν φασιν
εἰς τὸν Αἰλίων οἶκον εἰσελθεῖν, ὑπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ
τιμῆς εἰσαγόμενον, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον οὔτ'
αὐτοὺς οὔτε τὰς γυναῖκας[1] ἀργυρίου χρῄζειν ἢ
χρυσοῦ.

XXIX. Διῳκημένων δὲ πάντων αὐτῷ καλῶς
ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ παρακαλέσας
τοὺς Μακεδόνας μεμνῆσθαι τῆς δεδομένης ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας σώζοντας αὐτὴν δι' εὐνο-
μίας καὶ ὁμονοίας, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον,
ἔχων δόγμα συγκλήτου τοὺς συμμεμαχημένους
αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Περσέα μάχην στρατιώτας ἀπὸ
2 τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ὠφελῆσαι. βουλόμενος δὲ πᾶσιν
ἅμα καὶ μηδενὸς προσδοκῶντος, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης
ἐπιπεσεῖν, μετεπέμψατο τοὺς πρώτους ἐξ ἑκάστης 271
πόλεως ἄνδρας δέκα, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσος
ἀργυρός ἐστι καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν οἰκίαις καὶ ἱεροῖς,
ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ καταφέρειν. ἑκάστοις δὲ συνέπεμψεν
ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν καὶ
ταξίαρχον. προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ παραλαμ-
3 βάνειν τὸ χρυσίον. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας,
ὑφ' ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἅμα καιρὸν ὁρμήσαντες
ἐτράποντο πρὸς καταδρομὴν καὶ διαρπαγὴν τῶν
πόλεων, ὥστε ὥρᾳ μιᾷ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνθρώπων
ἐξανδραποδισθῆναι μυριάδας, ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ
πόλεις πορθηθῆναι, γενέσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοσαύτης
φθορᾶς καὶ πανωλεθρίας ἑκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ τὴν

[1] τὰς γυναῖκας Bekker, after Reiske: γυναῖκας.

themselves, and when he was distributing rewards for valour in the battle, he gave Aelius Tubero, his son-in-law, a bowl of five pounds weight. This was the Tubero, who, as I have said,[1] dwelt with fifteen relations, and a paltry farm supported them all. And that is said to have been the first silver that ever entered the house of the Aelii, brought in as an honour bestowed upon valour, but up to that time neither they themselves nor their wives used either silver or gold.

XXIX. When he had put everything in good order, had bidden the Greeks farewell, and had exhorted the Macedonians to be mindful of the freedom bestowed upon them by the Romans and preserve it by good order and concord, he marched against Epirus, having an order from the senate to give the soldiers who had fought with him the battle against Perseus the privilege of pillaging the cities there. Wishing to set upon the inhabitants all at once and suddenly, when no one expected it, he sent for the ten principal men of each city, and ordered them to bring in on a fixed day whatever silver and gold they had in their houses and temples. He also sent with each of these bodies, as if for this very purpose, a guard of soldiers and an officer, who pretended to search for and receive the money. But when the appointed day came, at one and the same time these all set out to overrun and pillage the cities, so that in a single hour a hundred and fifty thousand persons were made slaves, and seventy cities were sacked; and yet from all this destruction and utter ruin each soldier received no more than

[1] Chapter v. 4.

δόσιν οὐ μεῖζον ἕνδεκα δραχμῶν, φρῖξαι δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, εἰς μικρὸν οὕτω τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον λῆμμα καὶ κέρδος ἔθνους ὅλου κατακερματισθέντος.

XXX. Αἰμίλιος μὲν οὖν τοῦτο πράξας μάλιστα παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ φύσιν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ χρηστὴν οὖσαν εἰς Ὠρικὸν κατέβη· κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων περαιωθεὶς ἀνέπλει τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἑκκαιδεκήρους κατεσκευασμένης εἰς κόσμον ὅπλοις αἰχμαλώτοις καὶ φοινικίσι καὶ πορφύραις, ὡς καὶ πανηγυρίζειν ἔξωθεν καθάπερ εἴς τινα θριαμβικῆς θέαν πομπῆς καὶ προαπολαύειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τῷ ῥοθίῳ σχέδην ὑπάγοντι τὴν ναῦν ἀντιπαρεξάγοντας.

2 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν ἐποφθαλμίσαντες, ὡς οὐχ ὅσων ἠξίουν ἔτυχον, ὠργίζοντο μὲν ἀδήλως διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχον πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, αἰτιώμενοι δὲ φανερῶς ὅτι βαρὺς γένοιτο καὶ δεσποτικὸς αὐτοῖς ἄρχων, οὐ πάνυ προθύμως ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θριάμβου
3 σπουδὴν ἀπήντησαν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο Σέρβιος Γάλβας, ἐχθρὸς Αἰμιλίου, γεγονὼς δὲ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν χιλιάρχων, ἐθάρρησεν ἀναφανδὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ δοτέον εἴη τὸν θρίαμβον. ἐνεὶς δὲ πολλὰς τῷ στρατιωτικῷ πλήθει διαβολὰς κατὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὴν οὖσαν ὀργὴν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξερεθίσας ᾐτεῖτο παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἄλλην ἡμέραν· ἐκείνην γὰρ οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ,
4 τέσσαρας ἔτι λοιπὰς ὥρας ἔχουσαν. τῶν δὲ

eleven drachmas as his share, and all men shuddered at the issue of the war, when the division of a whole nation's substance resulted in so slight a gain and profit for each soldier.

XXX. Aemilius, then, after executing a commission so contrary to his mild and generous nature, went down to Oricus. From there he crossed into Italy with his forces, and sailed up the river Tiber on the royal galley, which had sixteen banks of oars and was richly adorned with captured arms and cloths of scarlet and purple, so that the Romans actually came in throngs from out the city, as it were to some spectacle of triumphant progress whose pleasures they were enjoying in advance, and followed along the banks as the splashing oars sent the ship slowly up the stream.

But the soldiers, who had cast longing eyes upon the royal treasures, since they had not got as much as they thought they deserved, were secretly enraged on this account and bitterly disposed towards Aemilius, while openly they accused him of having been harsh and imperious in his command of them; they were therefore not very ready to second his eager desires for a triumph. And when Servius Galba, who was an enemy of Aemilius, although he had been one of his military tribunes, perceived this, he made bold to declare openly that the triumph ought not to be allowed him. He also sowed many calumnies against their general among the masses of the soldiery, and roused still further the resentment they already felt, and then asked the tribunes of the people for another day in which to bring his accusations, since that day was not sufficient, of which only four hours still remained. But when

δημάρχων λέγειν αὐτόν, εἴ τι βούλεται, κελευ-
όντων, ἀρξάμενος μακρῷ καὶ βλασφημίας ἔχοντι
παντοδαπὰς χρῆσθαι λόγῳ τὸν χρόνον ἀνήλωσε
τῆς ἡμέρας· καὶ γενομένου σκότους οἱ μὲν δή-
μαρχοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφῆκαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν
Γάλβαν οἱ στρατιῶται συνέδραμον θρασύτεροι
γεγονότες, καὶ συγκροτήσαντες αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸν
ὄρθρον αὖθις καταλαμβάνονται τὸ Καπετώλιον·
ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔμελλον
ἄξειν.

XXXI. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ψήφου δοθείσης ἥ
τε πρώτη φυλὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἀπεψηφίζετο, καὶ
τοῦ πράγματος αἴσθησις εἰς τὸν ἄλλον δῆμον
καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον κατῄει. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος
ὑπεραλγοῦν τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐν
φωναῖς ἦν ἀπράκτοις, οἱ δὲ γνωριμώτατοι τῶν
ἀπὸ βουλῆς δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ γινόμενον βοῶντες
ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύτητος, ἐπὶ πᾶν
ἀφιξομένης ἄνομον ἔργον καὶ βίαιον, εἰ μηδὲν
ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς γένοιτο Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον ἀφελέ-
2 σθαι τῶν ἐπινικίων τιμῶν. ὠσάμενοι δὲ τὸν
ὄχλον καὶ ἀναβάντες ἀθρόοι τοῖς δημάρχοις ἔλε-
γον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ψηφοφορίαν, ἄχρι ἂν διέλθωσιν
ἃ βούλονται πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος. ἐπισχόντων δὲ
πάντων καὶ γενομένης σιωπῆς ἀνελθὼν ἀνὴρ
ὑπατικὸς καὶ πολεμίους εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς ἐκ προ-
κλήσεως ἀνῃρηκώς, Μάρκος Σερβίλιος, Αἰμίλιον
μὲν ἔφη Παῦλον, ἡλίκος αὐτοκράτωρ γένοιτο, νῦν
3 μάλιστα γινώσκειν, ὁρῶν ὅσης ἀπειθείας γέμοντι
καὶ κακίας στρατεύματι χρώμενος οὕτω καλὰς

the tribunes ordered him to speak, if he had anything to say, he began a speech which was long and full of all sorts of injurious statements, and so consumed the time remaining in the day. When darkness came, the tribunes dissolved the assembly, but the soldiers, now grown bolder, flocked to Galba, formed themselves into a faction, and before it was light proceeded to take possession of the Capitol; for it was there that the tribunes proposed to hold the assembly.

XXXI. As soon as it was day the voting began, and the first tribe was voting against the triumph, when knowledge of the matter was brought down to the rest of the people and the senate. The multitude, deeply grieved at the indignity offered to Aemilius, could only cry out against it in vain; but the most prominent senators, with shouts against the ignominy of the thing, exhorted one another to attack the bold license of the soldiers, which would proceed to any and every deed of lawlessness and violence if nothing were done to prevent their depriving Aemilius Paulus of the honours of his victory. Then pushing their way through the throng and going up to the Capitol in a body, they told the tribunes to put a stop to the voting until they could finish what they wished to say to the people. All voting stopped, silence was made, and Marcus Servilius, a man of consular dignity, and one who had slain twenty-three foes in single combat, came forward and said that he knew now better than ever before how great a commander Aemilius Paulus was, when he saw how full of baseness and disobedience the army was which he had used in the successful accomplishment of such great and

κατώρθωσε καὶ μεγάλας πράξεις, θαυμάζειν δὲ 272
τὸν δῆμον εἰ τοῖς ἀπ' Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Λιγύων
ἀγαλλόμενος θριάμβοις αὐτῷ φθονεῖ τὸν Μα-
κεδόνων βασιλέα ζῶντα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ Φιλίππου δόξαν ἐπιδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων
4 ὅπλοις ἀγομένην αἰχμάλωτον. "Πῶς γὰρ οὐ
δεινόν," εἶπεν, "εἰ, φήμης περὶ νίκης ἀβεβαίου
πρότερον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσούσης, ἐθύσατε τοῖς
θεοῖς εὐχόμενοι τοῦ λόγου τούτου ταχέως ἀπολα-
βεῖν τὴν ὄψιν, ἥκοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μετὰ
τῆς ἀληθινῆς νίκης ἀφαιρεῖσθε τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν
τιμήν, αὑτῶν δὲ τὴν χαράν, ὡς φοβούμενοι θεά-
σασθαι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἢ φειδό-
μενοι τοῦ πολεμίου; καίτοι κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ πρὸς
ἐκεῖνον ἐλέῳ, μὴ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα φθόνῳ
5 λυθῆναι τὸν θρίαμβον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοσαύτην," ἔφη,
"τὸ κακόηθες ἐξουσίαν προάγεται δι' ὑμῶν ὥστε
περὶ στρατηγίας καὶ θριάμβου τολμᾷ λέγειν
ἄνθρωπος ἄτρωτος καὶ τῷ σώματι στίλβων ὑπὸ
λειότητος καὶ σκιατραφίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς τοσού-
τοις τραύμασι πεπαιδευμένους ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας
κρίνειν στρατηγῶν." ἅμα δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος δια-
σχὼν ἐξέφηνε κατὰ τῶν στέρνων ὠτειλὰς ἀπίστους
6 τὸ πλῆθος. εἶτα μεταστραφεὶς ἔνια τῶν οὐκ
εὐπρεπῶς ἐν ὄχλῳ γυμνοῦσθαι δοκούντων τοῦ
σώματος ἀνεκάλυψε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάλβαν ἐπι-
στρέψας, "Σὺ μέν," ἔφη, "γελᾷς ἐπὶ τούτοις,
ἐγὼ δὲ σεμνύνομαι πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας· ὑπὲρ τού-
των γὰρ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα συνεχῶς ἱππασάμενος
ταῦτ' ἔσχον. ἀλλ' ἄγε λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν
ψῆφον· ἐγὼ δὲ καταβὰς παρακολουθήσω πᾶσι,
καὶ γνώσομαι τοὺς κακοὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους καὶ

fair exploits; and he was amazed that the people, while exulting in triumphs over Illyrians and Ligurians, begrudged itself the sight of the king of Macedonia taken alive and the glory of Alexander and Philip made spoil by Roman arms. "For is it not a strange thing," said he, "that when an unsubstantial rumour of victory came suddenly and prematurely to the city, you sacrificed to the gods and prayed that this report might speedily be verified before your eyes; but now that your general is come with his real victory, you rob the gods of their honour, and yourselves of your joy in it, as though afraid to behold the magnitude of his successes, or seeking to spare the feelings of your enemy? And yet it were better that out of pity towards him, and not out of envy towards your general, the triumph should be done away with. But," said he, "to such great power is malice brought by you that a man without a wound to show, and whose person is sleek from delicate and cowardly effeminacy, dares to talk about the conduct of a general and his triumph to us who have been taught by all these wounds to judge the valour and the cowardice of generals." And with the words he parted his garment and displayed upon his breast an incredible number of wounds. Then wheeling about, he uncovered some parts of his person which it is thought unbecoming to have naked in a crowd, and turning to Galba, said: "Thou laughest at these scars, but I glory in them before my fellow-citizens, in whose defence I got them, riding night and day without ceasing. But come, take these people off to their voting; and I will come down and follow along with them all, and will learn who are base and thankless

δημαγωγεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἢ στρατηγεῖσθαι βουλομένους."

XXXII. Οὕτω φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀνακοπῆναι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὥστε πάσαις ταῖς φυλαῖς ἐπικυρωθῆναι τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ τὸν θρίαμβον. πεμφθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγουσιν. ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἔν τε τοῖς ἱππικοῖς θεάτροις, ἃ Κίρκους καλοῦσι, περί τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰκρία πηξάμενοι, καὶ τἆλλα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καταλαβόντες, ὡς ἕκαστα παρεῖχε τῆς πομπῆς ἔποψιν, ἐθεῶντο καθαραῖς ἐσθῆσι κεκοσμημένοι.
2 πᾶς δὲ ναὸς ἀνέῳκτο καὶ στεφάνων καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἦν πλήρης, ὑπηρέται τε πολλοὶ καὶ ῥαβδονόμοι τοὺς ἀτάκτως συρρέοντας εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ διαθέοντας ἐξείργοντες ἀναπεπταμένας τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ καθαρὰς παρεῖχον. τῆς δὲ πομπῆς εἰς ἡμέρας τρεῖς νενεμημένης, ἡ μὲν πρώτη μόλις ἐξαρκέσασα τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνδριάσι καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ κολοσσοῖς ἐπὶ ζευγῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων
3 κομιζομένοις τούτων ἔσχε θέαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν Μακεδονικῶν ὅπλων ἐπέμπετο πολλαῖς ἁμάξαις, αὐτά τε μαρμαίροντα χαλκῷ νεοσμήκτῳ καὶ σιδήρῳ, τήν τε θέσιν ἐκ τέχνης καὶ συναρμογῆς ὡς ἂν μάλιστα συμπεφορημένοις χύδην καὶ αὐτομάτως ἐοίκοι πεποιημένα, κράνη πρὸς ἀσπίσι καὶ θώ-
4 ρακες ἐπὶ κνημῖσι, καὶ Κρητικαὶ πέλται καὶ Θρᾴκια γέρρα καὶ φαρέτραι μετὰ ἱππικῶν ἀναμεμιγμέναι χαλινῶν, καὶ ξίφη γυμνὰ διὰ τούτων παρανίσχοντα καὶ σάρισαι παραπεπηγυῖαι, σύμμετρον ἐχόντων χάλασμα τῶν ὅπλων, ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κροῦσιν ἐν τῷ διαφέρεσθαι τραχὺ

and prefer to be wheedled and flattered in war rather than commanded."

XXXII. This speech, they tell us, so rebuffed the soldiery and changed their minds that the triumph was voted to Aemilius by all the tribes. And it was conducted,[1] they say, after the following fashion. The people erected scaffoldings in the theatres for equestrian contests, which they call circuses, and round the forum, occupied the other parts of the city which afforded a view of the procession, and witnessed the spectacle arrayed in white garments. Every temple was open and filled with garlands and incense, while numerous servitors and lictors restrained the thronging and scurrying crowds and kept the streets open and clear. Three days were assigned for the triumphal procession. The first barely sufficed for the exhibition of the captured statues, paintings, and colossal figures, which were carried on two hundred and fifty chariots. On the second, the finest and richest of the Macedonian arms were borne along in many waggons. The arms themselves glittered with freshly polished bronze and steel, and were carefully and artfully arranged to look exactly as though they had been piled together in heaps and at random, helmets lying upon shields and breast-plates upon greaves, while Cretan targets and Thracian wicker shields and quivers were mixed up with horses' bridles, and through them projected naked swords and long Macedonian spears planted among them, all the arms being so loosely packed that they smote against each other as they were borne along and gave out a harsh and dreadful sound, and the sight of them, even though

[1] In November, 167 B.C.

καὶ φοβερὸν ὑπηχεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ νενικημένων ἄφο-
5 βον εἶναι τὴν ὄψιν. μετὰ δὲ τὰς ὁπλοφόρους
ἁμάξας ἄνδρες ἐπεπορεύοντο τρισχίλιοι νόμισμα
φέροντες ἀργυροῦν ἐν ἀγγείοις ἑπτακοσίοις πεντή-
κοντα τριταλάντοις, ὧν ἕκαστον ἀνὰ τέσσαρες
ἐκόμιζον· ἄλλοι δὲ κρατῆρας ἀργυροῦς καὶ κέρατα
καὶ φιάλας καὶ κύλικας, εὖ διακεκοσμημένα πρὸς
θέαν ἕκαστα καὶ περιττὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ
παχύτητι τῆς τορείας.

XXXIII. Τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἡμέρας ἕωθεν μὲν
εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο σαλπιγκταὶ μέλος οὐ προσόδιον
καὶ πομπικόν, ἀλλ' οἵῳ μαχομένους ἐποτρύνουσιν 273
αὑτοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι, προσεγκελευόμενοι. μετὰ δὲ
τούτους ἤγοντο χρυσόκερῳ τροφίαι βοῦς ἑκατὸν
εἴκοσι, μίτραις ἠσκημένοι καὶ στέμμασιν. οἱ δ'
ἄγοντες αὐτοὺς νεανίσκοι περιζώμασιν εὐπαρύφοις
ἐσταλμένοι πρὸς ἱερουργίαν ἐχώρουν, καὶ παῖδες
2 ἀργυρᾶ λοιβεῖα καὶ χρυσᾶ κομίζοντες. εἶτα
μετὰ τούτους οἱ τὸ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα φέροντες,
εἰς ἀγγεῖα τριταλαντιαῖα μεμερισμένον ὁμοίως
τῷ ἀργυρίῳ. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν ἀγγείων
ὀγδοήκοντα τριῶν δέοντα. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον
οἵ τε τὴν ἱερὰν φιάλην ἀνέχοντες, ἣν ὁ Αἰμίλιος
ἐκ χρυσοῦ δέκα ταλάντων διὰ λίθων κατεσκεύα-
σεν, οἵ τε τὰς Ἀντιγονίδας καὶ Σελευκίδας καὶ
Θηρικλείους καὶ ὅσα περὶ δεῖπνον χρυσώματα
3 τοῦ Περσέως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλε
τὸ ἅρμα τοῦ Περσέως καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὸ διά-
δημα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπικείμενον. εἶτα μικροῦ δια-
λείμματος ὄντος ἤδη τὰ τέκνα τοῦ βασιλέως
ἤγετο δοῦλα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τροφέων καὶ διδα-

they were spoils of a conquered enemy, was not without its terrors. After the waggons laden with armour there followed three thousand men carrying coined silver in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which contained three talents and was borne by four men, while still other men carried mixing-bowls of silver, drinking horns, bowls, and cups, all well arranged for show and excelling in size and in the depth of their carved ornaments.

XXXIII. On the third day, as soon as it was morning, trumpeters led the way, sounding out no marching or processional strain, but such a one as the Romans use to rouse themselves to battle. After these there were led along a hundred and twenty stall-fed oxen with gilded horns, bedecked with fillets and garlands. Those who led these victims to the sacrifice were young men wearing aprons with handsome borders, and boys attended them carrying gold and silver vessels of libation. Next, after these, came the carriers of the coined gold, which, like the silver, was portioned out into vessels containing three talents ; and the number of these vessels was eighty lacking three. After these followed the bearers of the consecrated bowl, which Aemilius had caused to be made of ten talents of gold and adorned with precious stones, and then those who displayed the bowls known as Antigonids and Seleucids and Theracleian,[1] together with all the gold plate of Perseus's table. These were followed by the chariot of Perseus, which bore his arms, and his diadem lying upon his arms. Then, at a little interval, came the children of the king, led along as slaves, and with them a throng of foster-parents, teachers, and tutors, all

[1] These last were named from a famous Corinthian artist.

σκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν δεδακρυμένων ὄχλος, αὐτῶν τε τὰς χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων εἰς τοὺς θεατὰς καὶ τὰ παιδία δεῖσθαι καὶ λιτανεύειν διδασκόν-
4 των. ἦν δ' ἄρρενα μὲν δύο, θῆλυ δὲ ἕν, οὐ πάνυ συμφρονοῦντα τῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν· ᾗ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλεεινὰ πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς ἀναισθησίας ἦν, ὥστε μικροῦ τὸν Περσέα βαδίζειν παρορώμενον· οὕτως ὑπ' οἴκτου τοῖς νηπίοις προσεῖχον τὰς ὄψεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ δάκρυα πολλοῖς ἐκβάλλειν συνέβη, πᾶσι δὲ μεμιγμένην ἀλγηδόνι καὶ χάριτι τὴν θέαν εἶναι μέχρι οὗ τὰ παιδία παρῆλθεν.

XXXIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τέκνων ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὰ θεραπείας κατόπιν ἐπορεύετο, φαιὸν μὲν ἱμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ κρηπῖδας ἔχων ἐπιχωρίους, ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους τῶν κακῶν πάντα θαμβοῦντι καὶ παραπεπληγμένῳ μάλιστα τὸν λογισμὸν ἐοικώς. καὶ τούτῳ δ' εἵπετο χορὸς φίλων καὶ συνήθων, βεβαρημένων τὰ πρόσωπα πένθει, καὶ τῷ πρὸς Περσέα βλέπειν ἀεὶ καὶ δακρύειν ἔννοιαν παριστάντων τοῖς θεωμένοις ὅτι τὴν ἐκείνου τύχην ὀλοφύρονται τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
2 ἐλάχιστα φροντίζοντες. καίτοι προσέπεμψε τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ δεόμενος μὴ πομπευθῆναι καὶ παραιτούμενος τὸν θρίαμβον. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀνανδρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοψυχίας, ὡς ἔοικε, καταγελῶν, "Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γ'," εἶπε, "καὶ πρότερον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, ἂν βούληται·" δηλῶν τὸν πρὸ αἰσχύνης θάνατον, ὃν οὐχ ὑπομείνας ὁ δείλαιος, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων τινῶν ἀπομαλακισθεὶς ἐγεγόνει μέρος τῶν αὐτοῦ λαφύρων.

3 Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐκομίζοντο χρυσοῖ στέφανοι

in tears, stretching out their own hands to the spectators and teaching the children to beg and supplicate. There were two boys, and one girl, and they were not very conscious of the magnitude of their evils because of their tender age; wherefore they evoked even more pity in view of the time when their unconsciousness would cease, so that Perseus walked along almost unheeded, while the Romans, moved by compassion, kept their eyes upon the children, and many of them shed tears, and for all of them the pleasure of the spectacle was mingled with pain, until the children had passed by.

XXXIV. Behind the children and their train of attendants walked Perseus himself, clad in a dark robe and wearing the high boots of his country, but the magnitude of his evils made him resemble one who is utterly dumbfounded and bewildered. He, too, was followed by a company of friends and intimates, whose faces were heavy with grief, and whose tearful gaze continually fixed upon Perseus gave the spectators to understand that it was his misfortune which they bewailed, and that their own fate least of all concerned them. And yet Perseus had sent to Aemilius begging not to be led in the procession and asking to be left out of the triumph. But Aemilius, in mockery, as it would seem, of the king's cowardice and love of life, had said: "But this at least was in his power before, and is so now, if he should wish it," signifying death in preference to disgrace; for this, however, the coward had not the heart, but was made weak by no one knows what hopes, and became a part of his own spoils.

Next in order to these were carried wreaths of

τετρακόσιοι τὸ πλῆθος, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἀριστεῖα τῆς νίκης τῷ Αἰμιλίῳ μετὰ πρεσβειῶν ἔπεμψαν. εἶτ' αὐτὸς ἐπέβαλλεν ἅρματι κεκοσμημένῳ διαπρεπῶς ἐπιβεβηκώς, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχα τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας ἀξιοθέατος, ἁλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ δάφνης κλῶνα τῇ δεξιᾷ προ-
4 τείνων. ἐδαφνηφόρει δὲ καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατός, τῷ μὲν ἅρματι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κατὰ λόχους καὶ τάξεις ἑπόμενος, ᾄδων δὲ τὰ μὲν ᾠδάς τινας πατρίους ἀναμεμιγμένας γέλωτι, τὰ δὲ παιᾶνας ἐπινικίους καὶ τῶν διαπεπραγμένων ἐπαίνους εἰς τὸν Αἰμίλιον περίβλεπτον ὄντα καὶ ζηλωτὸν ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπίφθονον· πλὴν εἴ τι δαιμόνιον ἄρα τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ὑπερόγκων εἴληχεν εὐτυχιῶν ἀπαρύτειν καὶ μιγνύναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, ὅπως μηδενὶ κακῶν ἄκρατος εἴη καὶ καθαρός, ἀλλὰ καθ' Ὅμηρον ἄριστα δοκῶσι πράττειν οἷς αἱ τύχαι τροπὴν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσιν.

XXXV. Ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ τέσσαρες υἱοί, δύο μὲν εἰς ἑτέρας ἀπῳκισμένοι συγγενείας, ὡς ἤδη 274
λέλεκται, Σκηπίων καὶ Φάβιος, δύο δὲ παῖδες ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν, οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας εἶχε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
2 γεγονότας ἐξ ἑτέρας γυναικός. ὧν ὁ μὲν ἡμέραις πέντε πρὸ τοῦ θριαμβεύειν τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐτελεύτησε τεσσαρεσκαιδεκέτης, ὁ δὲ δωδεκέτης μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας θριαμβεύσαντος ἐπαπέθανεν, ὥστε μηδένα γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων τοῦ πάθους ἀνάλγητον, ἀλλὰ φρῖξαι τὴν ὠμότητα τῆς τύχης ἅπαντας, ὡς οὐκ ᾐδέσατο πένθος τοσοῦτον εἰς οἰκίαν ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ θυσιῶν γέμουσαν εἰσάγουσα, καὶ

gold, four hundred in number, which the cities had sent with their embassies to Aemilius as prizes for his victory. Next, mounted on a chariot of magnificent adornment, came Aemilius himself, a man worthy to be looked upon even without such marks of power, wearing a purple robe interwoven with gold, and holding forth in his right hand a spray of laurel. The whole army also carried sprays of laurel, following the chariot of their general by companies and divisions, and singing, some of them divers songs intermingled with jesting, as the ancient custom was, and others paeans of victory and hymns in praise of the achievements of Aemilius, who was gazed upon and admired by all, and envied by no one that was good. But after all there is, as it seems, a divinity whose province it is to diminish whatever prosperity is inordinately great, and to mingle the affairs of human life, that no one may be without a taste of evil and wholly free from it, but that, as Homer says,[1] those may be thought to fare best whose fortunes incline now one way and now another.

XXXV. For Aemilius had four sons, of whom two, as I have already said,[2] had been adopted into other families, namely, Scipio and Fabius; and two sons still boys, the children of a second wife, whom he had in his own house. One of these, fourteen years of age, died five days before Aemilius celebrated his triumph, and the death of the other, who was twelve years of age, followed three days after the triumph, so that there was no Roman who did not share the father's grief; nay, they all shuddered at the cruelty of Fortune, seeing that she had not scrupled to bring such great sorrow into a house that was full of gratula-

[1] *Iliad*, xxiv. 525 ff. [2] Cf. chapter v. 3.

καταμιγνύουσα θρήνους καὶ δάκρυα παιᾶσιν ἐπινικίοις καὶ θριάμβοις.

XXXVI. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Αἰμίλιος ὀρθῶς λογιζόμενος ἀνδρείας καὶ θαρραλεότητος ἀνθρώποις οὐ πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ σαρίσας χρῆσιν εἶναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὁμαλῶς τύχης ἀντίστασιν, οὕτως ἡρμόσατο καὶ κατεκόσμησε τὴν τῶν παρόντων σύγκρασιν ὥστε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὰ φαῦλα καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐναφανισθέντα μὴ ταπεινῶσαι τὸ μέγεθος μηδὲ καθυβρίσαι τὸ ἀξίωμα
2 τῆς νίκης. τὸν μέν γε πρότερον τῶν παίδων ἀποθανόντα θάψας εὐθὺς ἐθριάμβευσεν, ὡς λέλεκται· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον τελευτήσαντος συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἐχρήσατο λόγοις ἀνδρὸς οὐ δεομένου παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ παραμυθουμένου τοὺς πολίτας δυσπαθοῦντας ἐφ' οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐδυστύχησεν. ἔφη γὰρ ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε δείσας, τῶν δὲ θείων ὡς ἀπιστότατον καὶ ποικιλώτατον πρᾶγμα τὴν
3 τύχην ἀεὶ φοβηθείς, μάλιστα περὶ τοῦτον αὐτῆς τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ πνεύματος λαμπροῦ, ταῖς πράξεσι παρούσης, διατελοίη μεταβολήν τινα καὶ παλίρροιαν προσδεχόμενος. "Μιᾷ μὲν γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου περάσας εἰς Κέρκυραν κατήχθην· πεμπταῖος δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῷ θεῷ θύσας, ἑτέραις αὖθις αὖ πέντε τὴν δύναμιν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρέλαβον, καὶ τὸν εἰωθότα συντελέσας καθαρμὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν πράξεων εὐθὺς ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ἡμέραις ἄλλαις πεντεκαίδεκα τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπέθηκα τῷ πολέμῳ
4 τέλος. ἀπιστῶν δὲ τῇ τύχῃ διὰ τὴν εὔροιαν τῶν

tions, joy, and sacrifices, or to mingle lamentations and tears with paeans of victory and triumphs.

XXXVI. Aemilius, notwithstanding, rightly considering that men have need of bravery and courage, not only against arms and long spears, but against every onset of Fortune as well, so adapted and adjusted the mingled circumstances of his lot that the bad was lost sight of in the good, and his private sorrow in the public welfare, thus neither lowering the grandeur nor sullying the dignity of his victory. The first of his sons who died he buried, and immediately afterwards celebrated the triumph, as I have said; and when the second died, after the triumph, he gathered the Roman people into an assembly and spoke to them as a man who did not ask for comfort, but rather sought to comfort his fellow-citizens in their distress over his own misfortunes. He said, namely, that he had never dreaded any human agency, but among agencies that were divine he had ever feared Fortune, believing her to be a most untrustworthy and variable thing; and since in this war particularly she had attended his undertakings like a prosperous gale, as it were, he had never ceased to expect some change and some reversal of the current of affairs. "For in one day," said he, "I crossed the Ionian Sea from Brundisium and put in at Corcyra; thence, in five days, I came to Delphi and sacrificed to the god; and again, in other five days, I took command of the forces in Macedonia, and after the usual lustration and review of them I proceeded at once to action, and in other fifteen days brought the war to the most glorious issue. But I distrusted Fortune because the current of my affairs ran so smoothly, and

*πραγμάτων, ὡς ἄδεια πολλὴ καὶ κίνδυνος οὐδεὶς
ἦν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, μάλιστα κατὰ πλοῦν ἐδε-
δίειν τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ,
τοσοῦτον στρατὸν νενικηκότα καὶ λάφυρα καὶ
βασιλεῖς αἰχμαλώτους κομίζων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
καὶ σωθεὶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν εὐφρο-
σύνης καὶ ζήλου καὶ θυσιῶν γέμουσαν, ἔτι τὴν
τύχην δι' ὑποψίας εἶχον, εἰδὼς οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς
οὐδ' ἀνεμέσητον ἀνθρώποις τῶν μεγάλων χαρι-
5 ζομένην. καὶ τοῦτον οὐ πρότερον ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν
φόβον ὠδίνουσα καὶ περισκοπουμένη τὸ μέλλον
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀφῆκεν ἢ τηλικαύτῃ με προσ-
πταῖσαι δυστυχίᾳ περὶ τὸν οἶκον, υἱῶν ἀρίστων,
οὓς ἐμαυτῷ μόνους ἐλιπόμην διαδόχους, ταφὰς
ἐπαλλήλους ἐν ἡμέραις ἱεραῖς μεταχειρισάμενον.
6 νῦν οὖν ἀκίνδυνός εἰμι τὰ μέγιστα καὶ θαρρῶ, καὶ
νομίζω τὴν τύχην ὑμῖν παραμενεῖν ἀβλαβῆ καὶ
βέβαιον. ἱκανῶς γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς
εἰς τὴν τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἀποκέχρηται νέμεσιν,
οὐκ ἀφανέστερον ἔχουσα παράδειγμα τῆς ἀνθρω-
πίνης ἀσθενείας τοῦ θριαμβευομένου τὸν θριαμ-
βεύοντα· πλὴν ὅτι* Περσεὺς *μὲν ἔχει καὶ νενικη-
μένος τοὺς παῖδας,* Αἰμίλιος *δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ νικήσας
ἀπέβαλεν."*

XXXVII. *Οὕτω μὲν εὐγενεῖς καὶ μεγάλους
λόγους τὸν* Αἰμίλιον *ἐξ ἀπλάστου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ
φρονήματος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διαλεχθῆναι λέγουσι.
τῷ δὲ* Περσεῖ, *καίπερ οἰκτείρας τὴν μεταβολὴν
καὶ μάλα βοηθῆσαι προθυμηθείς, οὐδὲν εὕρετο
πλὴν μεταστάσεως ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου κάρκερε
παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τόπον καθαρὸν καὶ φιλανθρω-
2 ποτέραν δίαιταν, ὅπου φρουρούμενος, ὡς μὲν οἱ*

now that there was complete immunity and nothing to fear from hostile attacks, it was particularly during my voyage home that I feared the reversal of the Deity's favour after all my good fortune, since I was bringing home so large a victorious army, such spoils, and captured kings. Nay more, even when I had reached you safely and beheld the city full of delight and gratulation and sacrifices, I was still suspicious of Fortune, knowing that she bestows upon men no great boon that is without alloy or free from divine displeasure. Indeed, my soul was in travail with this fear and could not dismiss it and cease anxiously forecasting the city's future, until I was smitten with this great misfortune in my own house, and in days consecrated to rejoicing had carried two most noble sons, who alone remained to be my heirs, one after the other to their graves. Now, therefore, I am in no peril of what most concerned me, and am confident, and I think that Fortune will remain constant to our city and do her no harm. For that deity has sufficiently used me and my afflictions to satisfy the divine displeasure at our successes, and she makes the hero of the triumph as clear an example of human weakness as the victim of the triumph; except that Perseus, even though conquered, has his children, while Aemilius, though conqueror, has lost his."

XXXVII. With such noble and lofty words, we are told, did Aemilius, from an unfeigned and sincere spirit, address the people. But for Perseus, although he pitied him for his changed lot and was very eager to help him, he could obtain no other favour than a removal from the prison which the Romans called "carcer" to a clean place and kindlier treatment; and there, being closely watched, according to most

πλεῖστοι γεγράφασιν, ἀπεκαρτέρησεν, ἔνιοι δὲ τῆς 275
τελευτῆς ἴδιόν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον
ἱστοροῦσι. μεμψαμένους γάρ τι καὶ θυμωθέντας
αὐτῷ τοὺς περὶ τὸ σῶμα στρατιώτας, ὡς ἕτερον
οὐδὲν ἠδύναντο λυπεῖν καὶ κακοῦν αὐτόν, ἐξείρ-
γειν τῶν ὕπνων, καὶ προσέχοντας ἀκριβῶς ἐνί-
στασθαι ταῖς καταφοραῖς καὶ συνέχειν ἐγρηγορότα
πάσῃ μηχανῇ, μέχρι οὗ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκ-
3 πονηθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ τῶν
παιδίων τὰ δύο. τὸν δὲ τρίτον, Ἀλέξανδρον,
εὐφυᾶ μὲν ἐν τῷ τορεύειν καὶ λεπτουργεῖν γενέ-
σθαι φασίν, ἐκμαθόντα δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ γράμματα
καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον ὑπογραμματεύειν τοῖς ἄρχου-
σιν, ἐπιδέξιον καὶ χαρίεντα περὶ ταύτην τὴν
ὑπηρεσίαν ἐξεταζόμενον.

XXXVIII. Ταῖς δὲ Μακεδονικαῖς πράξεσι τοῦ
Αἰμιλίου δημοτικωτάτην προσγράφουσι χάριν
ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν, ὡς τοσούτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον
τότε χρημάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεθέντων ὥστε μηκέτι
δεῆσαι τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν ἄχρι τῶν Ἱρτίου
καὶ Πάνσα χρόνων, οἳ περὶ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀντωνίου
2 καὶ Καίσαρος πόλεμον ὑπάτευσαν. κἀκεῖνο δ'
ἴδιον καὶ περιττὸν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου, τὸ σπουδαζό-
μενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τιμώμενον διαφερόντως
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατικῆς μεῖναι προαιρέσεως, καὶ
μηδὲν εἰπεῖν μηδὲ πρᾶξαι χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ κρατίστοις ἀεὶ συνεξετά-
ζεσθαι περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. ὃ καὶ χρόνοις ὕστε-
ρον Ἄππιος ὠνείδισεν Ἀφρικανῷ Σκηπίωνι.
3 μέγιστοι γὰρ ὄντες ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε τὴν τιμητι-
κὴν ἀρχὴν μετῄεσαν, ὁ μὲν τὴν βουλὴν ἔχων καὶ

writers the king starved himself to death. But some tell of a very unusual and peculiar way in which he died, as follows. The soldiers who guarded his person found some fault with him and got angry at him, and since they could not vex and injure him in any other way, they prevented him from sleeping, disturbing his repose by their assiduous attentions and keeping him awake by every possible artifice, until in this way he was worn out and died. Two of his children also died. But the third, Alexander, is said to have become expert in embossing and fine metal work; he also learned to write and speak the Roman language, and was secretary to the magistrates, in which office he proved himself to have skill and elegance.

XXXVIII. To the exploits of Aemilius in Macedonia is ascribed his most unbounded popularity with the people, since so much money was then brought into the public treasury by him that the people no longer needed to pay special taxes until the times of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls during the first war between Antony and Octavius Caesar.[1] And this, too, was peculiar and remarkable in Aemilius, that although he was admired and honoured by the people beyond measure, he remained a member of the aristocratic party, and neither said or did anything to win the favour of the multitude, but always sided in political matters with the leading and most powerful men. And this attitude of Aemilius was in after times cast in the teeth of Scipio Africanus by Appius. For these men, being then greatest in the city, were candidates for the censorship,[2] the one having the senate and the nobles to

[1] The so-called "War of Mutina," in 43 B.C.; cf. the *Cicero*, xlv. 3–5.

[2] In 142 B.C.

τοὺς ἀρίστους περὶ αὑτόν· αὕτη γὰρ Ἀππίοις ἡ
πολιτεία πάτριος· ὁ δὲ μέγας μὲν ὢν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ,
μεγάλῃ δ' ἀεὶ τῇ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου χάριτι καὶ
σπουδῇ κεχρημένος. ὡς οὖν ἐμβάλλοντος εἰς
ἀγορὰν τοῦ Σκηπίωνος κατεῖδε παρὰ πλευρὰν ὁ
Ἄππιος ἀνθρώπους ἀγεννεῖς καὶ δεδουλευκότας,
ἀγοραίους δὲ καὶ δυναμένους ὄχλον συναγαγειν
καὶ σπουδαρχίᾳ καὶ κραυγῇ πάντα πράγματα
4 βιάσασθαι, μέγα βοήσας, "Ὦ Παῦλε," εἶπεν,
"Αἰμίλιε, στέναξον ὑπὸ γῆς αἰσθόμενος ὅτι σου
τὸν υἱὸν Αἰμίλιος ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ Λικίννιος Φιλό-
νεικος ἐπὶ τιμητείαν κατάγουσιν." ἀλλὰ Σκηπίων
μὲν αὔξων τὰ πλεῖστα τὸν δῆμον εὔνουν εἶχεν,
Αἰμίλιος δέ, καίπερ ὢν ἀριστοκρατικός, οὐδὲν
ἧττον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἠγαπᾶτο τοῦ μάλιστα
δημαγωγεῖν καὶ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς
5 δοκοῦντος. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν
καὶ τιμητείας αὐτὸν ἀξιώσαντες, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ
πασῶν ἱερωτάτη καὶ δυναμένη μέγα πρός τε
τἆλλα καὶ πρὸς ἐξέτασιν βίων. ἐκβαλεῖν τε γὰρ
ἔξεστι συγκλήτου τὸν ἀπρεπῶς ζῶντα τοῖς τιμη-
ταῖς, καὶ προγράψαι τὸν ἄριστον, ἵππου τ' ἀφαι-
ρέσει τῶν νέων ἀτιμάσαι τὸν ἀκολασταίνοντα.
καὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν οὗτοι τὰ τιμήματα καὶ τὰς ἀπο-
6 γραφὰς ἐπισκοποῦσιν. ἀπεγράψαντο μὲν οὖν
κατ' αὐτὸν μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων τριάκοντα τρεῖς,
ἔτι δ' ἑπτακισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι πεντήκοντα δύο,
τῆς δὲ βουλῆς προέγραψε μὲν Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον
Λέπιδον, ἤδη τετράκις καρπούμενον ταύτην τὴν

support him, for this was the hereditary policy of the Appii, while the other, although great on his own account, nevertheless always made use of the great favour and love of the people for him. When, therefore, Appius saw Scipio rushing into the forum attended by men who were of low birth and had lately been slaves, but who were frequenters of the forum and able to gather a mob and force all issues by means of solicitations and shouting, he cried with a loud voice and said: "O Paulus Aemilius, groan beneath the earth when thou learnest that thy son is escorted to the censorship by Aemilius the common crier and Licinius Philonicus." But Scipio had the good will of the people because he supported them in most things, while Aemilius, although he sided with the nobles, was no less loved by the multitude than the one who was thought to pay most court to the people and to seek their favour in his intercourse with them. And they made this manifest by conferring upon him, along with his other honours, that of the censorship,[1] which is of all offices most sacred, and of great influence, both in other ways, and especially because it examines into the lives and conduct of men. For it is in the power of the censors to expel any senator whose life is unbecoming, and to appoint the leader of the senate, and they can disgrace any young knight of loose habits by taking away his horse. They also take charge of the property assessments and the registry lists. Accordingly, the number of citizens registered under Aemilius was three hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-two; he also declared Marcus Aemilius Lepidus first senator, a man who had

[1] In 164 B.C.

προεδρίαν, ἐξέβαλε δὲ τρεῖς συγκλητικοὺς οὐ τῶν
ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἱππέων ἐξέτασιν
ὁμοίως ἐμετρίασεν αὐτός τε καὶ Μάρκιος Φίλιπ-
πος ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ.

XXXIX. Διῳκημένων δὲ τῶν πλείστων καὶ
μεγίστων ἐνόσησε νόσον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐπισφαλῆ,
χρόνῳ δὲ ἀκίνδυνον, ἐργώδη δὲ καὶ δυσαπάλλα-
κτον γενομένην. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν
ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἐλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ διέτριβεν
αὐτόθι πλείω χρόνον ἐν παραλίοις ἀγροῖς καὶ
πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχουσιν, ἐπόθησαν αὐτὸν οἱ
Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ φωνὰς πολλάκις ἐν θεάτροις οἷον
2 εὐχόμενοι καὶ σπεύδοντες ἰδεῖν ἀφῆκαν. οὔσης 276
δέ τινος ἱερουργίας ἀναγκαίας, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δοκοῦν-
τος ἱκανῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος, ἐπανῆλθεν
εἰς Ῥώμην. κἀκείνην μὲν ἔθυσε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
τὴν θυσίαν ἱερέων, ἐπιφανῶς τοῦ δήμου περι-
κεχυμένου καὶ χαίροντος· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν
ἔθυσεν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σωτήρια τοῖς θεοῖς.
3 καὶ συμπερανθείσης, ὡς προείρηται, τῆς θυσίας
ὑποστρέψας οἴκαδε καὶ κατακλιθείς, πρὶν αἰσθέ-
σθαι καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν μεταβολήν, ἐν ἐκστάσει
καὶ παραφορᾷ τῆς διανοίας γενόμενος τριταῖος
ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδενὸς ἐνδεὴς οὐδ' ἀτελὴς τῶν πρὸς
εὐδαιμονίαν νενομισμένων γενόμενος. καὶ γὰρ ἡ
περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν πομπὴ θαυμασμὸν ἔσχε, καὶ
ζῆλον ἐπικοσμοῦντα τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῖς
4 ἀρίστοις καὶ μακαριωτάτοις ἐνταφίοις. ταῦτα δ'
ἦν οὐ χρυσὸς οὐδ' ἐλέφας οὐδ' ἡ λοιπὴ πολυτέλεια

already held this presidency four times, and he expelled only three senators, men of no note, and in the muster of the knights a like moderation was observed both by himself and by Marcius Philippus his colleague.

XXXIX. After he had performed most of the more important duties of this office, he fell sick of a disease which at first was dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it was troublesome and hard to get rid of. Under the advice of his physicians he sailed to Velia in Italy, and there spent much time in country places lying by the sea and affording great quiet. Then the Romans longed for him, and often in the theatres gave utterance to eager desires and even prayers that they might see him. At last, when a certain religious ceremony made his presence necessary, and his health seemed to be sufficient for the journey, he returned to Rome. Here he offered the public sacrifice in company with the other priests,[1] while the people thronged about with manifest tokens of delight; and on the following day he sacrificed again to the gods privately in gratitude for his recovery. When the sacrifice had been duly performed, he returned to his house and lay down to rest, and then, before he could notice and be conscious of any change, he became delirious and deranged in mind, and on the third day after died.[2] He was fully blessed with everything that men think conducive to happiness. For his funeral procession called forth men's admiration, and showed a desire to adorn his virtue with the best and most enviable obsequies. This was manifest, not in gold or ivory or

[1] See chapter iii. 1–3.
[2] Seven years after his triumph, 160 B.C.

καὶ φιλοτιμία τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἀλλ' εὔνοια καὶ τιμὴ καὶ χάρις οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. ὅσοι γοῦν κατὰ τύχην παρῆσαν Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Μακεδόνων, οἱ μὲν ἰσχυροὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ νέοι διαλαβόντες τὸ λέχος ὑπέδυσαν καὶ παρεκόμιζον, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι συνηκολούθουν ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν Αἰμίλιον
5 εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῶν πατρίδων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν οἷς ἐκράτησε καιροῖς ἠπίως πᾶσι καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀπηλλάγη χρησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἀεί τι πράττων ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κηδόμενος ὥσπερ οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν διετέλεσε.

Τὴν δ' οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ μόλις ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδων γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ἧς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπέλιπε κληρονόμους, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Σκηπίων τῷ ἀδελφῷ πᾶσαν ἔχειν συνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς εἰς οἶκον εὐπορώτερον τὸν Ἀφρικανοῦ δεδομένος. οὗτος μὲν ὁ Παύλου Αἰμιλίου τρόπος καὶ βίος λέγεται γενέσθαι.

ΤΙΜΟΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΙΜΙΛΙΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Τοιούτων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ὄντων, δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἔχει πολλὰς διαφορὰς οὐδὲ ἀνομοιότητας ἡ σύγκρισις. οἵ τε γὰρ πόλεμοι πρὸς ἐνδόξους γεγόνασιν ἀμφοτέροις ἀνταγωνιστάς, τῷ μὲν Μακεδόνας, τῷ δὲ Καρχηδονίους, αἵ τε νῖκαι περιβόητοι, τοῦ μὲν ἑλόντος Μακεδονίαν

the other ambitious and expensive preparations for such rites, but in good will and honour and gratitude on the part, not only of his fellow citizens, but also of his enemies. At all events, out of all the Iberians and Ligurians and Macedonians who chanced to be present, those that were young and strong of body assisted by turns in carrying the bier, while the more elderly followed with the procession calling aloud upon Aemilius as benefactor and preserver of their countries. For not only at the times of his conquests had he treated them all with mildness and humanity, but also during all the rest of his life he was ever doing them some good and caring for them as though they had been kindred and relations.

His estate, we are told, hardly amounted to three hundred and seventy thousand drachmas, to which he left both his sons heirs; but the younger, Scipio, who had been adopted into the wealthier family of Africanus, allowed his brother to have it all. Such, as we are told, was the life and character of Paulus Aemilius.

COMPARISON OF TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS

I. Such being the history of these men, it is clear that our comparison of them will have few points of difference or dissimilarity to show. For the wars which both conducted were against notable antagonists; in the one case against the Macedonians, in the other against the Carthaginians. Their victories, too, were far-famed: the one took Macedonia and

καὶ τὴν ἀπ' Ἀντιγόνου διαδοχὴν ἐν ἑβδόμῳ
βασιλεῖ καταπαύσαντος, τοῦ δὲ τὰς τυραννίδας
πάσας ἀνελόντος ἐκ Σικελίας καὶ τὴν νῆσον
ἐλευθερώσαντος· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία βούλοιτό τις
παρεγχειρεῖν ὡς Αἰμίλιος μὲν ἐρρωμένῳ Περσεῖ
2 καὶ Ῥωμαίους νενικηκότι, Τιμολέων δὲ Διονυ-
σίῳ παντάπασιν ἀπειρηκότι καὶ κατατετριμμένῳ
συνέπεσε, καὶ πάλιν ὑπὲρ Τιμολέοντος, ὅτι
πολλοὺς μὲν τυράννους, μεγάλην δὲ τὴν Καρχη-
δονίων δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῆς τυχούσης στρατιᾶς
ἐνίκησεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ Αἰμίλιος ἀνδράσιν ἐμπειρο-
πολέμοις καὶ μεμαθηκόσιν ἄρχεσθαι χρώμενος,
ἀλλὰ μισθοφόροις οὖσι καὶ στρατιώταις ἀτάκτοις,
πρὸς ἡδονὴν εἰθισμένοις στρατεύεσθαι. τὰ γὰρ
ἀπ' οὐκ ἴσης παρασκευῆς ἴσα κατορθώματα τῷ
στρατηγῷ τὴν αἰτίαν περιτίθησι.

II. Καθαρῶν οὖν καὶ δικαίων ἐν τοῖς πρά-
γμασιν ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότων, Αἰμίλιος μὲν ὑπὸ
τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὕτως ἔοικεν εὐθὺς
ἀφικέσθαι παρεσκευασμένος, Τιμολέων δὲ τοι-
οῦτον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν παρέσχε. τούτου τεκμήριον
ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὁμαλῶς ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πάν-
τες ἦσαν εὔτακτοι καὶ ὑποχείριοι τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς
καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεδιότες καὶ τοὺς πολίτας,
Ἑλλήνων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἡγεμών ἐστιν οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς
ὃς οὐ διεφθάρη τότε Σικελίας ἁψάμενος ἔξω
2 Δίωνος. καίτοι Δίωνα πολλοὶ μοναρχίας ὀρέ-
γεσθαι καὶ βασιλείαν τινὰ Λακωνικὴν ὀνειροπο-
λεῖν ὑπενόουν. Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ Γύλιππον ἀκλεῶς 277
φησι καὶ ἀτίμως ἀποπέμψαι Συρακουσίους, φιλο-
πλουτίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπληστίαν ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ

brought the royal line of Antigonus to an end in its seventh king; the other abolished all the tyrannies in Sicily and set the island free. One might, indeed, argue otherwise, and say that Perseus was strong and victorious over the Romans when Aemilius engaged him, while Dionysius, when Timoleon engaged him, was altogether crushed and desperate. And, again, it might be said in favour of Timoleon that he conquered many tyrants and the force of the Carthaginians, large as it was, with what soldiers he could get, not having at his service, as Aemilius had, men who were experienced in war and taught to obey orders, but men who were hirelings and disorderly soldiers, accustomed to consult their own pleasure in their campaigns. For when equal successes follow an unequal equipment, the greater credit accrues to the commander.

II. Further, in their administration of affairs both were just and incorruptible; but Aemilius, it would seem, was made so from the outset of his career by the laws and customs of his country, while Timoleon's great probity was due to himself. There is proof of this in the fact that the Romans in the time of Aemilius were, all alike, orderly in their lives, observant of usage, and wholesomely fearful of the laws and of their fellow citizens; whereas, of the Greek leaders and generals who took part in Sicilian affairs during the time of Timoleon, not one was free from corruption except Dion. And Dion was suspected by many of being ambitious for a monarchy and dreaming of a kingdom like that in Sparta. Furthermore, Timaeus says that even Gylippus was sent away in ignominy and dishonour by the Syracusans, because they found him guilty of avarice and greed while

κατεγνωκότας. ἃ δὲ Φάραξ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης καὶ Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐλπίσαντες ἄρξειν Σικελίας παρενόμησαν καὶ παρεσπόνδησαν, ὑπὸ πολ-
3 λῶν ἀναγέγραπται. καίτοι τίνες ἢ πηλίκων κύριοι πραγμάτων ὄντες οὗτοι τοιαῦτα ἤλπισαν; ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐκπεπτωκότα Συρακουσῶν ἐθεράπευε Διονύσιον, Κάλλιππος δὲ εἷς ἦν τῶν περὶ Δίωνα ξεναγῶν. ἀλλὰ Τιμολέων αἰτησαμένοις καὶ δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοκράτωρ πεμφθεὶς Συρακουσίοις, καὶ δύναμιν οὐ ζητεῖν ἀλλ' ἔχειν ὀφείλων ἣν ἔλαβε βουλομένων καὶ διδόντων, πέρας ἐποιήσατο τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατηγίας καὶ ἀρχῆς τὴν τῶν παρανόμων ἀρχόντων κατάλυσιν.

4 Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι τοῦ Αἰμιλίου θαυμαστόν, ὅτι τηλικαύτην βασιλείαν καταστρεψάμενος οὐδὲ δραχμῇ μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἥψατο τῶν χρημάτων, καίτοι πολλὰ δοὺς ἑτέροις καὶ δωρησάμενος. οὐ λέγω δὲ ὅτι Τιμολέων μεμπτός ἐστιν οἰκίαν τε καλὴν λαβὼν καὶ χωρίον· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκ τοιούτων αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν κρεῖττον καὶ περιουσία τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ἐπιδεικνυμένης τὸ μὴ δεόμενον.

5 Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὡς σώματος ῥῖγος ἢ θάλπος φέρειν δυναμένου τὸ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας εὖ πεφυκὸς ὁμοῦ τὰς μεταβολὰς ῥωμαλεώτερον, οὕτω ψυχῆς ἄκρατος εὐρωστία καὶ ἰσχύς, ἣν οὔτε τὸ εὐτυχεῖν ὕβρει θρύπτει καὶ ἀνίησιν οὔτε συμφοραὶ ταπεινοῦσι, φαίνεται τελειότερος ὁ Αἰμίλιος, ἐν χαλεπῇ

he was their general.[1] And how Pharax the Spartan and Callippus the Athenian violated laws and treaties in their hopes of ruling Sicily, has been told by many writers.[2] And yet who were these men, or of how large resources were they masters, that they entertained such hopes? One of them was a servile follower of Dionysius after he had been driven out of Syracuse, and Callippus was one of Dion's captains of mercenaries. But Timoleon, at the earnest request of the Syracusans, was sent to be their general, and needed not to seek power from them, but only to hold that which they had given him of their own free will, and yet he laid down his office and command when he had overthrown their unlawful rulers.

It is, however, worthy of admiration in Aemilius that, although he had subdued so great a kingdom, he did not add one drachma to his substance, nor would he touch or even look upon the conquered treasure; and yet he made many liberal gifts to others. Now, I do not say that Timoleon is to be blamed for accepting a fine house and country estate, for acceptance under such circumstances is not disgraceful; but not to accept is better, and that is a surpassing virtue which shows that it does not want what it might lawfully have.

Furthermore, a body that can endure only heat or cold is less powerful than one that is well adapted by nature to withstand both extremes alike. In like manner a spirit is absolutely vigorous and strong if it is neither spoiled and elated by the insolence which prosperity brings, nor humbled by adversity. The character of Aemilius, therefore, was manifestly more

[1] See the *Nicias*, xxviii. 2 f.
[2] See the *Timoleon*, xi. 4.

τύχῃ καὶ πάθει μεγάλῳ τῷ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐδέν τι μικρότερος οὐδὲ ἀσεμνότερος ἢ διὰ τῶν
6 εὐτυχημάτων ὁραθείς· Τιμολέων δὲ γενναῖα πράξας περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἀντέσχε τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ μετανοίᾳ καὶ λύπῃ ταπεινωθεὶς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰδεῖν οὐχ ὑπέμεινε. δεῖ δὲ τὰ αἰσχρὰ φεύγειν καὶ αἰδεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀδοξίαν εὐλαβὲς ἐπιεικοῦς μὲν ἤθους καὶ ἁπαλοῦ, μέγεθος δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντος.

perfect, since in the grievous misfortune and great sorrow brought upon him by the death of his sons he was seen to have no less greatness and no less dignity than in the midst of his successes; whereas Timoleon, although he had acted in a noble way with regard to his brother, could not reason down his sorrow, but was prostrated with grief and repentance, and for twenty years could not endure the sight of bema or market-place. One should scrupulously shun disgraceful deeds; but the anxious fear of every kind of ill report among men argues a nature which is indeed kindly and sensitive, but has not greatness.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

H H 2

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Achradina, pp. 67, 77, 89, 305, 307, 313, the first extension on the main-land of the island city of Syracuse, stretching from the Great Harbour northwards to the sea.

Acilius, 177, Caius, not otherwise known.

Acrae, 59, a small city of Sicily about twenty miles west of Syracuse.

Adranum, 287, 289, 299, 301, a city of Sicily at the foot of the western slope of Mt. Aetna, founded by the elder Dionysius in 400 B.C.

Adria, 25, an ancient and famous city of Cisalpine Gaul, originally a sea-port between the mouths of the Po and the Adige, but now some fourteen miles inland. It gave its name to the Adriatic sea.

Agrigentum, 57, 345, one of the most powerful and celebrated of the Greek cities in Sicily, situated on the south-west coast of the island. It was colonised from Gela in 582 B.C.

Agrippa, 185, Marcus Vipsanius, a fellow-student of Octavius Cæsar at Apollonia, and a most intimate friend. He became one of the prominent and powerful men of the Augustan age. He lived 63–12 B.C.

Alcimenes, 49, not otherwise known.

Amphipolis, 47, 49, an important town in S.E. Macedonia, on the river Strymon, about three miles from the sea.

Anicius, Lucius, 387, Lucius Anicius Gallus, praetor in 168 B.C., acted in concert with Appius Claudius against Genthius the Illyrian, and was completely successful in a campaign of thirty days, for which he celebrated a triumph.

Antigonus (1), 373, 461, King of Asia, surnamed the One-eyed. Lived 382–301 B.C.

Antigonus (2), 373, surnamed Doson. On the death of Demetrius II. (229 B.C.) he was appointed guardian of his son Philip. He married the widow of Demetrius and assumed the crown in his own right. He supported Aratus and the Achæan League against Cleomenes of Sparta. He died in 220 B.C.

Antigonus (3), surnamed Gonatas, 373, a son of Demetrius Poliorcetes by Phila, and grandson of Antigonus King of Asia. He succeeded to the title of King of Macedonia on his father's death in 283 B.C., and gained possession of part of his realm in 277 B.C. He died in 239 B.C.

Antimachus, of Colophon, 347, a great epic and elegiac poet who flourished during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War (420–404 B.C.). See the *Lysander* xviii. 4f.

Antiochus of Ascalon, 129, called the founder of the Fifth Academy. He was a teacher of Cicero at Athens in 79–78 B.C., and Cicero speaks of him in the highest and most appreciative terms (*Brutus*, 91, 315).

Antiochus the Great, 363, 371, King of Syria 223–187 B.C. He was defeated by the Romans under Glabrio at Thermopylae in 191, and by Scipio near Magnesia in Asia in 190 B.C.

He made peace with Rome in 188 B.C., ceding all his dominions west of Mt. Taurus.

Antium, 173, an ancient and powerful city of Latium, on the coast, thirty-eight miles south of Rome, the modern Porto d'Anzo.

Antonius, Caius, 181–187, a brother of the triumvir, legate of Julius Cæsar in 49 B.C., praetor urbanus in 44 B.C., receiving Macedonia as his province.

Antonius, 421, Lucius A. Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany under Domitian, raised a rebellion; but an inundation of the Rhine deprived him of the assistance of the Germans which had been promised him. Cf. Suetonius, *Domit.* 6.

Appius, 453, 455. Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 143 B.C., father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus. He lived in constant enmity with Scipio Africanus the Younger.

Apollocrates, 81, 107, 117, eldest son of Dionysius the Younger.

Apollonia, 319, a small city in the central and northern part of Sicily, mentioned last by Cicero (*in Verr.* iii. 43, 103.)

Apollonia, 175, 181–185, an ancient Greek city of Illyria, near the river Aoüs and about eight miles from its mouth. Towards the end of the Roman republic it became a famous seat of learning.

Archedamus the Aetolian, 417. In 199–197 B.C. he acted with the Romans against Philip V. of Macedon. Later he was prominent in the war between the Aetolians and Rome, and joined Perseus in 169 B.C.

Archedemus, 37, apparently a disciple of Archytas.

Archytas, 37, 41, a Greek of Tarentum, distinguished as philosopher, mathematician, general, and statesman. He flourished about 400 B.C. and onwards. Cf. the *Marcellus*, xiv. 5.

Arete, 13, 43, 109, 121, 123, niece and wife of Dion.

Aristides the Locrian, 275, mentioned elsewhere (Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, xiv. 4) only as more grieved at the manner than at the fact of his death.

Aristippus of Cyrene, 39, 41, founder of the Cyrenaïc school of philosophy, obnoxious to Xenophon and Plato on account of his luxurious ways of living.

Aristomache, 7, 14, 109, 121, 123, sister and mother-in-law of Dion.

Aristoxenus the musician, 295, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school. Only fragments of his musical treatises have come down to us.

Aristus, 129, brother of Antiochus of Ascalon, and a teacher of philosophy at Athens when Cicero was there in 51–50 B.C. (*ad Att.*, v. 10, 5). Cicero calls him "hospes et familiaris meus" in *Brutus*, 97, 332.

Athanis, 319, 351, of Syracuse, wrote a history of the events attending and following Dion's expedition. He was probably one of the generals elected by the Syracusans in Dion's place (*Dion*, xxxviii. 2).

Attillius (Atilius), 213, otherwise unknown.

Atticus, 191, Quintus Caecilius Pomponianus, surnamed Atticus on account of his long residence in Athens, where he took refuge from the storms of the civil wars in 85 B.C. He was Cicero's most intimate friend. He returned to Rome in 65, and died in 32 B.C., at the age of seventy-seven. He was a man of wealth, learning, and refinement.

B

Basternae, 377, 383, a powerful tribe of European Sarmatia (Russia). They were driven back across the Danube by the Romans in 30 B.C.

Bibulus, 153, 177, Lucius Calpurnius B., youngest son of the

Bibulus who was Caesar's consular colleague in 59 B.C. He surrendered to Antony after the battle at Philippi (42 B.C.), was pardoned by him, and made commander of his fleet. He died shortly before the battle of Actium (31 B.C.).

Brundisium, 449, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 151, 169, 187, Decimus Junius Brutus, surnamed Albinus after his adoption by Aulus Postumius Albinus, the consul of 99 B.C. He was widely employed, highly esteemed, fully trusted, and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and yet joined his murderers. After Caesar's death he opposed Antony successfully, but fell a victim to the coalition between Antony and Octavius in 43 B.C.

Buthrotum, 183, a city on the western coast of Epirus, opposite Corcyra, celebrated by Vergil in *Aeneid*, iii. 293 ff.

C

Calauria, 337, a town of Sicily not mentioned elsewhere.

Calends (Kalends), 147, the Roman name for the first day of the month.

Callippus, 33, 61, 115–123, 463, of Athens, a disciple of Plato in common with Dion, to whom he came to have much the same relation as Brutus Albinus to Julius Cæsar.

Camarina, 59, a famous Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily, about twenty miles east of Gela. It was colonized from Syracuse in 599 B.C.

Canidius, 131, 133, perhaps the Publius Canidius Crassus who was the friend and supporter of Antony (Plutarch, *Antony*, xxxiv.–lxxi.).

Canutius, 173, mentioned only here.

Carbo, 191, Gnaeus Papirius C., a leader of the Marian party and consular colleague of Cinna in 85 and 84 B.C. He was put to death by Pompey in 82 B.C. (Plutarch, *Pompey*, x. 3f.).

Carystus, 179, an ancient city on the south coast of Euboea, famous for its marble.

Casca, 157, 163, 229, Publius Servilius C., tribune of the people in 44 B.C. He fled from Rome after Caesar's murder, and died soon after the battle at Philippi, in which he fought. His brother Caius was also one of Caesar's murderers (Plutarch, *Caesar*, lxvi. 5).

Catana, 123, 291, 305, 335, 341, 343, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Tauromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.

Cato (1), 411, Marcus Porcius C. Licinianus, son of Cato the Elder by his first wife Licinia. It was after the battle of Pydna that he became the son-in-law of Aemilius Paulus. For his education, and his exploit at the battle of Pydna, see the *Cato Major*, chapter xx.

Cato (2), 237, 239, son of Cato the Younger. After the death of his father, Caesar pardoned him and allowed him the use of his patrimony. See the *Cato Minor*, chapter lxxiii.

Caulonia, 57, a Greek city on the eastern coast of Bruttium, conquered by the elder Dionysius in 389 B.C.

Ceos, 345, one of the Cyclades islands in the Aegean sea, about thirteen miles S.E. of Attica, most famous as the birthplace of the great lyric poet Simonides.

Cicero, 179, 183, Marcus Tullius, only son of the great orator, born in 65 B.C. He joined the army of Pompey in Greece when only sixteen years of age, and gained

credit as an officer of cavalry. After Pharsalus, he resided at Athens, where he fell into loose habits for a time. After Caesar's death, he served as military tribune under Brutus. After Philippi, he was taken up by Octavius, and became his consular colleague in 30 B.C. See the *Cicero*, xlix. 4.

Cimber, 163, 169, Lucius Tullius, had been one of Caesar's warmest supporters, and rewarded by him with the province of Bithynia. After Caesar's murder he went to his province, raised a fleet, and co-operated effectually with Brutus and Cassius.

Cinna (1), 191, Lucius Cornelius, leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87–84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85, and 84. He was killed in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he had hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla. See the *Pompey*, chapter v.

Cinna (2), 167, 181, Lucius Cornelius, son of the preceding. He served under Lepidus and Sertorius (78–72 B.C.), but was restored from exile by Caesar and made praetor in 44 B.C. He would not join the murderers of Caesar, but approved of their deed.

Cinna (3), 171, 173, Caius Helvius, a friend of Catullus, and probably the same person as the Helvius Cinna whom Valerius Maximus (ix. 9, 1), Appian (*B.C.* ii. 147), and Dion Cassius (xliv. 50) call a tribune of the people. Cf. Suetonius, *Div. Jul.* 85; Plutarch, *Caesar*, lxxiii. 2f. Only fragments of his poems remain.

Clodius (Claudius), 171, Publius Claudius Pulcher, youngest son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the *Sulla*, xxix. 3. He helped to demoralize the soldiers of Lucullus in Asia (*Lucullus*, chapter xxxiv.), became a venomous foe of Cicero, was notorious for incest and licentiousness (*Caesar*, chapters ix. and x.), and was at last killed in a street-brawl with Milo in 52 B.C. (*Cicero*, chapters xxviii.–xxxv.).

Colophon, 347, one of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, situated on the river Hales, near the sea, north of Ephesus.

Corcyra, 449, an island in the Ionian sea, opposite Epirus, the modern Corfú.

Cornificius, Lucius, 185, afterwards an able supporter of Octavius in war on land and sea. He became consul in 35 B.C.

Cratippus, the Peripatetic, 177, of Mitylene, a contemporary and intimate friend of Cicero, and a teacher of Cicero's son.

Crimesus (Crimisus), 323, 325, 331, a river in the N.W. part of Sicily, near Segesta.

Cyzicus, 187, a Greek city on the Propontis, in Mysia, wonderfully situated on the neck of a peninsula.

D

Demetrias, 181, an important city in the S.E. part of Thessaly, at the head of the Pagasaean gulf, founded by Demetrius Poliorcetes about 290 B.C.

Demetrium, 423, of Samothrace, probably a sanctuary of Demeter connected with the mysteries and worship of the Cabeiri.

Demetrius (1), 373, Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus King of Asia, lived 337–283 B.C. See Plutarch's *Life*.

Demetrius (2), 373, Demetrius II., son of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia 239–229 B.C.

Demetrius (3), 375, younger, and only legitimate son of Philip V. of Macedon, sent to Rome as hostage after the battle of Cynoscephalae (197 B.C.), where he won that favour of the Romans which roused the jealousy of his brother Perseus and brought about his death.

Diogenes, of Sinope, 297, a Cynic philosopher, born 412 B.C. He

became a pupil of Antisthenes the Socratic at Athens, and changed from a dissolute to a most austere life. He was sold into slavery at Corinth, where he acquired his freedom and passed his old age. He died in 323 B.C., according to Plutarch (*Morals*, p. 717 c) on the same day as Alexander the Great.

Dionysius, of Colophon 347, a painter contemporary with Polygnotus (latter half of the fifth century B.C.), of whom he was said to be an imitator. According to Aristotle, his work lacked idealism.

Dolabella, 131, 141, 181, the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero, lived 70–43 B.C. He took part with Caesar in 49 B.C., but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.

Domitian, 421, 423, Roman Emperor 81–96 A.D.

E

Ecnomum (Ecnomus), 57, a hill on the southern coast of Sicily, between Agrigentum and Gela.

Elea (Velia), 177, 345, 457, a Greek colony from Phocaea in Ionian Asia Minor, founded about 540 B.C. on the N.W. coast of Lucania in southern Italy (Herod. i. 164–167). It received the Roman franchise in 90 B.C., and was a noted health resort.

Empylus, 129, mentioned only here, unless he is the same person as the orator, Empylus Rhodius, mentioned by Quintilian (x. 6, 4).

Ephorus, 77, 79, 271, of Cymé, pupil of Isocrates, and author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epicurus, 207, founder of the philosophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C. He established his school at Athens in 306, was a man of pure and temperate habits, and bore suffering with cheerful fortitude.

Epidamnus, 181, the city on the coast of Illyria known in Roman history usually as Dyrrhachium. It was a free state, and sided consistently with the Romans.

Epipolae, 313, a triangular plateau rising gradually westwards from Syracuse, visible from the interior of the island city, and surrounded by precipitous cliffs. Cf. the *Nicias*, xvii. 1; xxi. 5–9.

Eudemus, the Cyprian, 47, a member of the Platonic circle and an intimate friend of Aristotle. Aristotle's dialogue entitled "Eudemus, or On the Soul," is preserved only in scanty fragments (cf. Plutarch, *Morals*, p. 175 b, and Cicero, *de Div.*, i. 25, 53). Eudemus fell in a battle between the friends of Dion and the traitor Callippus (Diodorus, xvi, 36, 5).

Evander, the Cretan, 417, mentioned only here.

F

Favonius, 149, 151, 201, 203, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," was aedile in 52, and praetor in 40 B.C. He joined Pompey in the East notwithstanding personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus (cf. the *Pompey*, lxxiii. 6 f.)

Flavius, 241, Caius F., an intimate friend of Brutus, and his praefectus fabrorum at Philippi.

G

Gaesylus, the Spartan, 105, 107, mentioned only here.

Galba, 435–439, Servius Sulpicius G., military tribune under Aemilius

Paulus, praetor in 151, and famous for his faithless cruelty in his province of Spain. He was consul in 144 B.C. He was also an orator of power.

Galepsus, 417, a colony of Thasos on the coast of Thrace.

Gela, 57, 345, an important Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily, between Agrigentum and Camarina. It was colonized in 690 B.C. from Crete and Rhodes. The Carthaginians destroyed it in 405 B.C.

Gelon, 319, tyrant of Syracuse 485–478 B.C., and victor over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C.

Genthius, 387, King of Illyria. He graced the triumph of his conqueror, Lucius Anicius, in 167 B.C., and died in captivity.

H

Hanno, 307, had commanded successfully in the last war between the Carthaginians and Dionysius the Elder (368 B.C.). His failure to prevent the landing of Timoleon in 344 probably led to his recall and the substitution of Mago in his place. He was afterwards put to death for conspiracy.

Harpalus, 393, mentioned only here.

Helicon, of Cyzicus, 41, for some time a resident at the court of Dionysius the Younger. Suidas mentions a work of his on astrology.

Heracleides, 25, 71, 73, 81, 83, 95, 99, 101–107, 111–117, was commander of the mercenaries of Dionysius the Younger, and fled from Syracuse with Dion (Diodorus, xvi. 6, 4).

Hermocrates, 7, an eminent and nobly patriotic Syracusan at the time of the great Athenian expedition against the city (415–413 B.C.), and prominent in the narrative of Thucydides. After the destruction of the Athenian armament, he served his native city ably as admiral in conjunction with the Spartan fleet, but was deposed in 409 B.C. by a rival political party, and was killed two years later in an attempt to gain possession of Syracuse by force.

Herostratus, 179, mentioned only here.

Hicetas, 123, 265, 277, 281, 283, 287–291, 299, 303, 305, 311, 313, 319, 335–341, during the disorders following the death of Dion succeeded in establishing himself as tyrant of Leontini.

Himera, 319, an important Greek city on the northern coast of Sicily, at the mouth of the river of the same name.

Hirtius, 453, Aulus H., a warm friend and supporter of Julius Caesar. He fell in gallantly leading an assault upon Antony's troops.

Hortensius, 181, 187, Quintus H. Hortatus, a son of the great orator Hortensius, though apparently cast off by his father on account of dissolute habits. He joined Caesar in 49 B.C, and served him in important commands. In 44 B.C. he held the province of Macedonia, and Brutus was to succeed him.

Hostilius, 377, Aulus H. Mancinus, consul in 170, and pro-consul in Greece in 169 B.C., where he conducted a safe but inconclusive warfare against Perseus.

I

Iapygia, 53, the ancient (Greek) name for Calabria, the eastern peninsula of southern Italy. Probably the Iapygian promontory is here meant.

Ion, 425, a military officer of Perseus.

J

Junia, 141, Junia Tertia, a half-sister of Brutus. She lived till 22 A.D., and left large legacies to the leading men of Rome.

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

L

Labeo, 151, 241, Quintus Antistius L., an eminent jurist, and father of a jurist more eminent still, who lived under Augustus. According to Appian (*B.C.* iv. 135), Labeo, unwilling to survive Brutus, had himself killed by a trusty slave and buried in his tent.

Lacedaemon, 231, apparently a town of Macedonia near Thessalonica.

Laenas, Popilius, 159, 161, a Roman senator, not otherwise mentioned (cf. Appian, *B.C.*, ii. 115 f.).

Leontini, 59, 85, 89, 301, 319, 339, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, between Syracuse and Catana, about eight miles inland.

Lepidus, 169, 187, 455, Marcus Aemilius L., triumvir with Octavius and Antony. He joined the party of Caesar in 49, and was praetor in Spain in 48 B.C., Caesar's magister equitum in 47 and 45, and his consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the triumvirate received Spain and Narbonese Gaul as his province, then, in 40, Africa, where he remained till 36 B.C., when he was deposed from the triumvirate He lived till 13 B.C.

Leptines, 123, 299, 319, a Syracusan, who aided Callippus in capturing Rhegium in 351 B.C. His exile by Timoleon was in 342 B.C.

Leucadia (Leucas), 295, an island in the Ionian sea, once a part of the mainland of Acarnania.

Licinius, Publius, 377, P. L. Crassus, consul in 171 B.C.

Lilybaeum, 321, a promontory and city at the extreme western end of Sicily.

Lycon, the Syracusan, 121, not otherwise mentioned.

M

Maedica, 383, the territory of the Maedi, a powerful tribe in western Thrace.

Mago, 303–315, commander of the Carthaginian fleet and army in Sicily in 344 B.C., succeeding Hanno.

Mamercus (1), 359, son of Pythagoras. Cf. the *Numa*, xiii. 9.

Mamercus (2), 291, 335–351, tyrant of Catana.

Marrucinians, 407, a warlike tribe of central Italy, generally sharing the fortunes of the neighbouring Marsi and Peligni, and after 304 B.C. faithful allies of Rome.

Maso, 365, Caius Papirius M., consul in 231, died in 213 B.C.

Maximus (1), Fabius, 393, 447, see Plutarch's *Life*.

Maximus (2), Valerius, 247, compiler of a large collection of anecdotes, in the time of Augustus.

Mediolanum, 257, the chief city of Cisalpine Gaul, the modern Milan.

Messala, 215–229, 245, 247, Marcus Valerius M. Corvinus, born about 70 B.C., educated at Athens, and a friend of Horace. He attached himself to Cassius after the death of Caesar, and fought ably at Philippi. After the death of Cassius he became a supporter of Antony, and then of Octavius (Augustus). He was also a poet, historian, grammarian, and orator. He wrote commentaries on the civil wars after Caesar's death.

Messana, 103, 123, 309, 335, 343, an important city of Sicily, on the strait between that island and Italy, nearly opposite Rhegium.

Milo, 395, 397, of Beroea, an officer in the army of Perseus. He had been successful against the Roman consul Licinius Crassus in 171 B.C. From Pydna he fled to Beroea, but soon surrendered the place to Aemilius.

Miltas, the Thessalian, 47–51, not otherwise mentioned.

Mycalé, 421, a promontory in Asia Minor, opposite the island of Samos, where the Athenians defeated the Persians in 479 B.C.

Mylae, 351, an ancient Greek city

on the northern coast of Sicily, about thirty miles west of Messana, and generally dependent on that city.

N

Nasica, see Scipio (2).
Neon (1), the Corinthian, 305, mentioned only here.
Neon (2), the Boeotian, 417, one of the principal authors of the alliance between the Boeotians and Perseus. After the battle of Pydna he fell into the hands of the Romans and was executed.
Nicolaüs, the philosopher, 247, probably Nicolaus Damascenus, a famous historian and philosopher of the Augustan age.
Nisaeus, 263, not otherwise mentioned.
Norbanus, 209, an officer sent forward into Macedonia by Octavius and Antony (Appian, *B.C.*, ix. 87).
Numantia, 415, a famous city in northern Spain.
Nypsius, 87, 93, 99, not otherwise mentioned.

O

Octavius, Gnaeus, 423, 425, praetor in 168 B.C., consul in 165. He was assassinated in 162, while on an embassy in Syria.
Oreüs, 377, formerly called Histiaea, an ancient and important town in northern Euboea.
Oricus (Oricum), 435, a town and harbour of Illyria, a few miles south of Apollonia.

P

Pachynus, 53, the south-eastern promontory of Sicily.
Paeonians, 403, an ancient and powerful people of Upper Macedonia.
Pansa, 453, Caius Vibius P., a devoted friend of Julius Caesar, who made him governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 46, and consul for 43 B.C. with Hirtius.
Patara (Patareans), 131, 197, a flourishing city on the south-western coast of Lycia in Asia Minor, celebrated for its temple and cult of Apollo.
Pelignians, 407, a warlike people in central Italy, neighbours to the Marsi and Samnites, and after 304 B.C. faithful allies of Rome.
Pella, 415, 417, was made the capital of Macedonia by Philip II. and was the birthplace of Alexander the Great. It was some fifteen miles from the sea, west of the river Axius.
Pella, Lucius, 203, mentioned only here.
Pelusium, 199, a strong frontier-town on the eastern branch of the Nile.
Perrhaebia, 393, a district in northern Thessaly.
Pharax, 103, 287, 463, perhaps the same person as the envoy from Sparta to Athens mentioned by Xenophon in *Hell.* vi. 5, 33, and as the Pharax characterized by Theopompus as most un-Spartan in his mode of life (Athenaeus, p. 536 c).
Philip, 371–375, Philip V. of Macedon, one of the ablest Macedonian monarchs, reigned 220–179 B.C.
Philippus, Marcius, 457, Quintus M.P., consul in 186, and again in 169 B.C., in which year he conducted the war against Perseus, handing over his command to Aemilius Paulus in the following year. He was censor with Aemilius in 164 B.C.
Philippi, 179, 187, 207–211, a city of Macedonia on the river Strymon, formerly called Crenides, but renamed by Philip II.
Philistus, 25–29, 39, 53, 77, 79, 299, a Syracusan, an eye-witness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse in 415–413 B.C., which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.
Plancus, 167, Lucius Munatius P., a friend and supporter of Julius Caesar, and after Caesar's death of Antony. He was consul in

42 B.C., as Caesar had planned. He abandoned the cause of Antony in 32, and joined Octavius, whose favour he thenceforth enjoyed.

Plataea, 421, the little city of Boeotia near which the allied Greeks defeated the Persians in 479 B.C.

Pollis, the Spartan, 11, a Spartan naval commander in 376 B.C., defeated by Chabrias of Athens.

Polybius, 135, 393, 395, 405, of Megalopolis in Arcadia, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, born about 204 B.C., long resident in Rome, and an intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he watched the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.

Porcia, 153, 155, 247, wife of Marcus Brutus, daugher of Cato the Younger by his first wife. See the *Cato Minor*, lxxiii. 4.

Poseidonius, 129, 405–413, of Apameia in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Panaetius of Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him.

Ptoeodorus, the Megarian, 35, mentioned only here.

Pydna, 397, 415, 419, a town of southern Macedonia, on the Thermaic gulf.

Pythagoras, the philosopher, 359, of Samos, flourished about 540–510 B.C. After extensive travels he settled in Crotona of southern Italy, and founded a numerous and mysterious sect.

R

Rhegium, 123, 281–285, 307, an important Greek city in the Bruttian peninsula of southern Italy, nearly opposite to Messana in Sicily.

S

Samothrace, 419, 423, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.

Scipio (1), the Great, 359, 367, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major, conqueror of Hannibal. He lived 234–183 B.C.

Scipio (2), 393, 395, 399, 403, 413, 425, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica Corculum, celebrated as jurist and orator, consul in 162, censor in 159, and consul a second time in 155 B.C. He appears to have written commentaries on this campaign under Aemilius, which is his first appearance in history.

Scipio (3), 139, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius and therefore often called Metellus Scipio. He was Pompey's colleague in the consulship for part of the year 52 B.C., and became a determined foe of Caesar. He killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.).

Scipio (4), 365, 413, 415, 447, 453, 455, 459, Publius Cornelius S. Aemilianus Africanus Minor, younger son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by Publius Scipio, the son of Scipio the Great, was born about 185, and died mysteriously in 129 B.C.

Servilia, 127, 129, 135, 137, 247, after the death of her first husband, the father of Brutus, married Decimus Junius Silanus, who was consul in 62 B.C.

Servilius, Marcus, 437, mentioned only here.

Sestius, 133, Publius Sestius, a supporter of Cicero in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and active in securing Cicero's recall from exile. See Cicero's oration *pro Sestio*. In the civil war, he sided first with Pompey, and then with Caesar.

Silicius, Publius, 187, called Silicius Coronas by Dion Cassius (xlvi. 49), a Roman senator, appointed one of the judges to try the murderers of Caesar. He ventured to vote for the acquittal of Brutus, and was therefore proscribed and put to death by the triumvirs.

Simonides, 3, 349, of Ceos, the

greatest lyric poet of Greece, 556–457 B.C.

Speusippus, 35, 45, 47, 77, a distinguished disciple of Plato, whom he followed as head of the Academy (347–339 B.C.).

Statilius, the Epicurean, 149, 151, mentioned only here.

Strato, 245, mentioned only here.

T

Tauromenium, 285–289, a city on the north-eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Catana and Messana.

Thasos, 227, an island in the northern part of the Aegean sea, off the coast of Thrace, half a day's sail from Amphipolis.

Theomnestus, the Academic, 177, a brother of the Aristus mentioned in chapter ii. 2, and apparently his successor as head of the Academy.

Theopompus, 51, 271, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336 B.C.

Thessalonica, 231, an important city at the head of the Thermaic gulf, capital of the Roman province of Macedonia.

Thurii, 299, 307, a Greek city of Lower Italy, on the gulf of Tarentum, near the site of the ancient Sybaris. Its colonization in 444 B.C. was one of the great projects of Pericles. See the *Nicias*, v. 2.

Timaeus, 13, 29, 69, 77, 79, 271, 285, 345, 461, of Tauromenium, lived between 350 and 250 B.C. During a long exile in Athens he wrote a voluminous history of his native island from earliest time down to 264 B.C.

Timon, 35, of Phlius, a philosopher of the Sceptic school, author of a famous satiric poem called *Silli*, taught successfully at Chalcedon and Athens. He flourished about 280 B.C.

Timonides, the Leucadian, 47, 67, 69, 77, accompanied Dion to Sicily and fought on his side.

Timotheüs, 345, son of Conon the great Athenian admiral. He was made general in 378 B.C., and about 360 was at the height of his popularity and glory.

Titinius, 223, 225, a centurion. His story is told also in Appian (*B.C.* iv. 113) and Valerius Maximus (ix. 9, ext. 2).

Trebonius, 163, 169, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the first triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul and was loaded with favours by him, but joined his murderers.

Tubero, 367, 427, 433, Quintus Aelius T., son-in-law of Aemilius Paulus. Cf. Valerius Maximus, iv. 4 ext. 9.

V

Vatinius, 181, Publius V., tribune of the people in 59 B.C., and a paid creature of Caesar. After Pharsalus, Caesar gave him high command in the East. He was compelled to surrender his army to Brutus, but did not forfeit the favour of Octavius and Antony.

Velia, 345, 457, see Elea.

Volumnius, Publius, 235, 241, 243, mentioned only here.

X

Xanthus, 131, 195, 197, the largest and most prosperous city of Lycia in Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river of the same name.

Z

Zacynthus, 47, 49, 119, 121, an island off the western coast of Peloponnesus, the modern Zante.

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